

THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

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OCTOBER, 1891.

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ART. I.—MR. HERBERT SPENCER ON JUSTICE.\*

IT is with much regret we learn that apprehensions connected with failing health have caused the premature appearance of the fourth part of Mr. Spencer's "Principles of Ethics." In his preface he says: "Should improved health be maintained, I hope that, before the close of next year, I may issue Parts II. and III." This hope we cordially re-echo.

In the present small volume, of but 286 pages, its author puts before us his representation of the sentiments, idea, and formula of justice, with the authority of that formula; after which the various social "rights" and State "duties" are deduced therefrom in a very interesting manner. The book is an entertaining and attractive one, and contains many sagacious remarks, enforced by well-chosen illustrations, sometimes put forward playfully, while sometimes errors are criticised with caustic humour, not, however, in excess of their demerits.

It need hardly be said that the work, being an integral portion of the author's evolutionary philosophy, justice, with the rights and duties which spring from it, are represented as necessary developments of an evolving world, which has once attained to sentience. Naturally, therefore, the first chapter bears the significant title of "Animal Ethics," while the second is devoted to an exposition of what he calls "Sub-human justice."

It has been our lot on several occasions to point out the radical inadequacy of Mr. Herbert Spencer's representation of the central idea of ethics. Since 1870—beginning with an article in the *Quarterly Review* for 1871, soon to be republished—we have

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\* "Justice," being Part IV. of "The Principles of Ethics." By Herbert Spencer. London: Williams & Norgate. 1891.

again and again called his attention to the fundamental immorality of his system, but, in common with Professor Martineau, we have been unable to elicit from him any evidence that he has been able to master that central idea. In an Appendix \* dealing directly with the ethics of the subject he once more clearly manifests what may be called his "moral colour-blindness," therefore we will begin our criticism with a notice of that Appendix. It concerns two letters, written in 1890, by the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies, wherein that gentleman sought (as vainly as his predecessors) to obtain from Mr. Spencer "some justification" for employing the ordinary terms of ethics in connection with his evolutionary philosophy.

Mr. Spencer begins (p. 272) his reply by crediting his opponents with the absurd notion that a man cannot perform beneficial actions from non-moral motives, and then assumes that if such a beneficially acting man be questioned enough, he will at last reveal a latent "moral" motive, while the example he gives is not a necessarily moral one at all.

He says: "If you push your inquiries to the end, you will compel him to assign the fact that if men in general did not do the like the race would disappear." But why must it be wrong to adopt a line of conduct which, under conceivable circumstances, if ordinarily followed, would have such a result? Under certain circumstances no person who understood the necessary supremacy of "right" (however he might *feel*) could deny the validity of St. Augustin's exclamation, *Oh! Felix exitium mundi!*

In the next paragraph but one Mr. Spencer contends that his system does not prevent his feeling angry at injurious actions. But who would be so irrational as to suppose that it would prevent him? The question does not concern "feelings," but "ethical judgments." Let us suppose, *per impossible*, that Mr. Spencer himself had done something wrong, and that he knew it, would such knowledge necessarily prevent his being angry with a man who chastised him for his offence?

But our author is fatally compelled by his system, not indeed to feel in this or that way, but to "judge" that virtue and pleasure are fundamentally the same. This is the case since, whatever people may either think or feel about them now, they are, according to him, one in origin—an origin consisting ultimately of pleasurable and painful sensations. Moral conceptions, he teaches us, have been evolved from pleasurable sensations by the preservation through long ages (in the struggle for life) of a predominating number of such individuals as happened to have a natural and

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\* Appendix C, "The Moral Motive," pp. 271-276.



spontaneous liking for practices and habits of mind useful to their tribe or race, while the same action has destroyed a predominating number of those individuals who possessed a marked tendency to contrary practices. The descendants of individuals so preserved have, according to his system, come to inherit these beneficial likings and habits of mind, and at last (finding this inherited tendency thus existing in themselves distinct from their tendency to self-conscious gratification) have grown to regard it as *fundamentally* distinct and independent of all experiences, individual or ancestral. In fact, according to Mr. Spencer's system, the idea of "right" is only the result of the gradual accretion of useful predilections, which, from time to time, arose in a series of ancestors naturally selected. In this way "morality" is the congealed past experience of the race, and "virtue" becomes, as it were, a sort of "*retrieving*," which the thus improved human animal practises by a perfected and inherited habit, regardless of self-gratification, just as the brute animal has acquired the habit of seeking prey and bringing it to his master instead of devouring it himself. As Mr. Martineau has neatly put it: "Conscience is a hoarded fund of traditionary pressures of utility. . . . Our higher attributes are only the lower which have lost their memory and mistake themselves for something else."

A little further on (p. 274) in his Appendix Mr. Spencer quotes from his "First Principles" to the effect that a man "must remember that while he is a descendant of the past, he is a parent of the future; and that his thoughts are children which he may not carelessly let die. He, like every other man, may properly consider himself as one of the myriad agencies through whom works the Unknown Cause; and when the Unknown Cause produces in him a certain belief he is thereby authorised to act out that belief."

But why, on Mr. Spencer's principles, "may not" the supposed man let his thoughts die? To what end may he "properly" view himself in the way proposed? Mr. Spencer seems to think that we are to be frightened by his "bogey-man," the Unknown and Unknowable, dressed up with capital letters like a South-sea Islander with a huge war-mask. But it is a good many years now since we found Him out, and He can impose on us no more.

That men are responsible for the use they make of the thoughts they voluntarily entertain, and that each of us has his true vocation with its attendant duties, we, of course, not only admit but affirm; yet we do so only because we agree with ordinary men in holding the conviction that there really are such things as "right" and "wrong" and "moral obligations," over and above all merely human ends. According to Mr. Spencer, however, the

Unknowable, in giving ordinary men this conviction, has taught them to believe a lie. But the same Unknowable has taught Mr. Spencer and his friends to know better. The Unknowable has revealed to them that "virtue" is but conduct (whether *well-meant* or *ill-meant*) which happens to benefit the tribe, and that there is nothing really to be said but "Oh! for shame!" to men and women who do not happen to care about it.

But there can be small honour indeed in being one of "the myriad agencies" of that "liar from the beginning" who, according to Spencerism, has thus nourished mankind on such apples of Sodom from a tree of death—spiritual food which at first seems attractive indeed, but which ultimately shows itself to be but dust and ashes. An "absolute moralist," on being converted to Mr. Spencer's system, would, indeed, be justified in saying "the Unknowable be damned," unless he were more disposed to regard it, because devoid of both intelligence and will, as an entity meriting not anger but contempt.

Our author makes another strange mistake about his opponents. He says they "assume that the conception 'ought' is a universal and a fixed conception." By this he means that they are stupid and ignorant enough to suppose that men have everywhere and always agreed about what things, in the concrete, they liked to have done! He illustrates this by citing certain savage practices and sentiments, and also the duels of Europeans. He says: "The aggrieved man is forced by a strong sense of *obligation* to challenge one who has injured him; and the injurer entertains no doubt that he *ought* to accept the challenge—feels, in common with his associates, that it is his *duty* to do this thing which is condemned by the creed he professes" (p. 275).

But in this passage the terms "ought," "obligation," and "duty," are used illegitimately. The two men here supposed (the injured and the injurer) feel, indeed, that it is necessary for them, *if they would conform to a received code of honour*, and avoid the contempt of the world, to act in a certain way. But this they may none the less know to be morally wrong. Analogous mental conflicts between a perception of duty and the temptations of temporal expediency in small things, are practically familiar to every confessor. But in order to make the matter plain we will put an extreme case. Let us suppose a man to be one of a gang of swindlers, whose immediate and most strongly desired object is to despoil a wealthy young man into whose confidence he has wound himself. Such a man will feel himself "forced by a strong sense of obligation" (if he would not miss his aim) to conform himself to the tastes and inclinations of his victim. He may "entertain no doubt that he ought" (if he would not stultify and defeat himself) to avail himself of some critical opportunity his

unsuspecting dupe may throw in his way, and he will "feel, in common with his associates, that it is his duty" (if he would not disappoint his own intentions and theirs) "to do this thing." But his perception of what is needed in order that his nefarious purpose should be unswervingly carried out, does not prevent his being quite well aware that he is acting as a villain all the time.

It may be well at once here to point out certain distinctions which need to be borne in mind by any one who would study this question. Had Mr. Spencer only understood them, he would not have fallen into the confusion of thought which is so plainly manifested in his work on *Justice*, in common with all his other ethical writings.

### I.—FEELINGS ETHICAL AND THE REVERSE.

- A. Non-ethical sympathetic feelings—as when pain is felt at the sight of the infliction of punishment known to be fully merited.
- B. Ethical sympathetic feelings—as when pain is felt at the sight of the unjust treatment of another person.
- C. Truly ethical feelings—as when a man feels pleasure in performing, or at seeing performed, any really good work.
- D. Anti-ethical feelings—as when regret is felt at the omission of an enjoyment recognised as immoral, or when pleasure is felt at the thought of a past enjoyment of such a kind.

### II.—NON-ETHICAL AND ETHICAL JUDGMENTS ABOUT CONDUCT.

- E. Non-ethical judgments—as when it is perceived that an action will, whether right or wrong, gratify us or help us to attain some end we have in view; *e.g.*, that a certain course of conduct is necessary to gratify our vanity, to give us a pleasure we desire, or to maintain our social position.
- F. Relative ethical judgments—as when it is perceived that, of two alternative actions, one is ethically superior to the other, but that it is not an action we are morally obliged to perform.
- G. Absolute ethical judgments—as when it is perceived that one action is right or another wrong, and that it is our bounden duty to do the one and avoid the other.

One of the clearest and more distinct of ethical perceptions is the perception that it is "intentions," and not "consequences," which determine the morality of actions. This distinction is so obvious that it would seem to need no more than a bare statement to make its validity evident; and yet, strange to say, it is either

ignored or expressly denied by the whole school to which Mr. Spencer belongs. The concluding passage of the Appendix here criticised is as follows :—

Perhaps he [Mr. Spencer's opponent] will still ask "Why, having the feeling of obligation, should a man yield to it?" If so, the answer is of the same general nature as that which may be given to the question, "Why, having an appetite for food, should a man eat?" Though, in the normal order, a man eats to satisfy hunger, and without definite consciousness of remoter ends, yet, if you demand his justification, he replies that, as conducive to health, strength, and ability to carry on life and do his work, the yielding to his appetite is needful. And, similarly, one who performs an act which his sense of duty prompts, if asked for his reason, may fitly reply that though he yielded to the feeling without thought of distant consequences, yet he sees that the distant consequences of such conformity are, on the average of cases, beneficial, not only to others, but in the long run to himself. And here let me repeat a truth which I have elsewhere insisted upon, that just as food is rightly taken only when taken to appease hunger, while the having to take it when there is no inclination implies deranged physical state, so a good act or act of duty is rightly done only if done in satisfaction of immediate feeling; and if done with a view to ultimate results, in this world or another world, implies an imperfect moral state.

This comparison between "eating" and "moral action" affords a wonderfully clear illustration of Mr. Spencer's confusion of thought. To satisfy appetite or to perform a beneficial action, however conducive to individual or social health, is not necessarily a moral action; while to eat without appetite, or to do a beneficial action against inclination, may be much more moral than to eat or act with appetite or inclination. There is a certain truth implied in Mr. Spencer's concluding sentence, though it is absolutely false to say that a good act is rightly done only if done in satisfaction of immediate feeling. It may be rightly done if done with extreme repugnance, and, in a sense, may have the more merit on account of that repugnance. Nevertheless, it is true that, in the highest and most perfect moral state conceivable, moral sentiment does accompany moral action. As we have pointed out on a previous occasion, we are far indeed from affirming that no man can perform a really good action unless he pauses and reflects as to his intention; still less that spontaneous good actions are devoid of merit. What we affirm is, that in order that any action should be really good, the doer of it must, directly or indirectly, be moved by the idea of "right" present to his mind, then or antecedently, so as to have become a mental habit. The action must be, in fact, directed by him who does it to a good end, either actually or virtually.

Professor Huxley has praised the man who does good without thinking about it. But it is impossible that the "*not thinking about it*" can be that which makes the action good; otherwise good actions done in a state of somnambulism should attain the acme of moral perfection. In every really good action a man performs, past ethical perceptions must at least be influencing him, whether he adverts to them or not, otherwise the action is not moral. The merit of that virtue which shows itself even in the spontaneous, indeliberate actions of a good man, results from the fact of previous acts having been consciously directed to goodness, by which a habit has been formed. The more thoroughly a man is possessed by the idea of duty, the more his whole being is saturated with that idea, the more will goodness show itself in all his even spontaneous actions, which then will have additional merit through their very spontaneity. It is thus, intentions, and not consequences, which determine the real morality of actions.

Our author's conception of justice is avowedly based on the doctrine of Natural Selection, as we shall shortly see. His formula of justice is: "Every man is free to do that which he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man" (p. 46).

Mr. Herbert Spencer not being a Theist, man's duty towards God forms no part of his ethical code, which is therefore a most imperfect one. Though ethics do not repose upon the will of God, without the recognition of His existence and claims they lose their highest sanction and most efficient support, while large departments of ethics—notably those termed self-regarding duties—necessarily suffer atrophy. Nevertheless, there is a large element of truth in his above-cited formula, for each normal man and woman is a being possessing intelligence and free-will, and therefore true moral responsibility. However divergent may be the positions in which different human beings are placed, they have all the same great aim set before them, and their life has, from the ethical standpoint, a similar value. Since they each have duties, the rights of each one must be limited by the rights of others. The existence of each is an end in itself, and none can justly be made use of by any man as his mere instruments, as if the end of their being was different from his own.

And not only no individual, but no organised aggregate of individuals—no State—can justly violate those "rights" of the individual which follow from the "duties." Above all, respect is due to the family. It is also due to property, and to such voluntary associations of individuals, and to such voluntary segregations and aggregations of their own property as individuals may choose to form or institute, provided that by so doing they do not injure others.

After these preliminary remarks concerning the fundamental errors which necessarily underlie Mr. Spencer's whole system of ethics, we will address ourselves at once to the details of his present exposition of one section of that system.

In his first chapter—"Animal Ethics"—he begins by referring to Part I. of his "Principles of Ethics," and to the chapters entitled "Conduct in General," and "The Evolution of Conduct," wherein he tells us it was

Shown that the conduct which ethics treats of is not separable from conduct at large; that the highest conduct is that which conduces to the greatest length, breadth, and completeness of life; and that, by implication, there is a conduct proper to each species of animal, which is the relatively good conduct—a conduct which stands towards that species as the conduct we morally approve stands towards the human species.

Here, *in limine* we meet with a false statement, and one which is misleadingly ambiguous. Ethical conduct is separable from "conduct at large," and what he calls the "good conduct" of animals is but beneficial action, which can be but "materially" good, and cannot be really "formally" good, so that a comparison between it and human moral action is equivocal, and therefore misleading.

In the next paragraph he nakedly declares the utter immorality of his system. He says:

Most people regard the subject-matter of ethics as being conduct considered as calling forth approbation or reprobation. But the primary subject-matter of ethics is conduct considered objectively as producing good or bad results to self, or others, or both.

If the ill-intentioned acts of individuals and communities which through miscalculation happen to do good, in spite of the malice of their perpetrators, if such acts are reckoned as good actions by Mr. Spencer, then he must mean by "good" what the mass of mankind mean by "bad"!

The next paragraph shows us how he confounds an ethical judgment with a mere feeling. He says:

Even those who think of ethics as concerned only with conduct which deserves praise or blame, tacitly recognise an animal ethics; for certain acts of animals excite in them antipathy or sympathy.

Again, he confounds reprobation generally, with moral reprobation. Thus he says: "A dog which surrenders its bone to another without a struggle, and runs away, we call a coward—a word of reprobation" (p. 4).

But here, in the first place, on Mr. Spencer's system, which



only regards "results," and not "intentions," the cowardly dog performs a highly "altruistic" action.

Secondly, the reprobation of the dog cannot be a really moral reprobation, because the dog has no moral appreciation of his action, and no free will. But, besides that, cowardice may be the unavoidable result, even in a man, of a certain nervous organisation. A coward may be heartily ashamed of himself without in the least feeling that he is morally to blame, just as he may be ashamed of ill-shaped limbs or a prodigiously monstrous nose.

Accepting for a moment, without further dispute, Mr. Spencer's notions of ethics and justice—*i.e.*, materially beneficial conduct—his system of the laws of human conduct is based upon merely animal life as follows:

The most general conclusion is that, in order of obligation, the preservation of the species takes precedence of the preservation of the individual . . . since disappearance of the species, implying disappearance of all individuals, involves absolute failure in achieving the end. . . . The resulting corollaries are these:

First, that among adults there must be conformity to the law that benefits received shall be directly proportionate to merits possessed, merits being measured by power of self-sustentation. For otherwise the species must suffer in two ways. It must suffer immediately by sacrifice of superior to inferior, which entails a general diminution of welfare; and it must suffer remotely by further increase of the inferior which, by implication, hinders increase of the superior, and causes a general deterioration, ending in extinction if it is continued.

Second, that during early life, before self-sustentation has become possible, and also while it can be but partial, the aid given must be the greatest where the worth shown is the smallest—benefits received must be inversely proportionate to merits possessed, merits being measured by power of self-sustentation. Unless there are *gratis* benefits to offspring, unqualified at first, and afterwards qualified by decrease as maturity is approached, the species must disappear by extinction of its young. There is, of course, necessitated a proportionate self-subordination of adults.

Third, to this self-subordination entailed by parenthood has, in certain cases, to be added a further self-subordination. If the constitution of the species and its conditions of existence are such that sacrifices, partial or complete, of some of its individuals so subserve the welfare of the species that its members are better maintained than they would otherwise be, then there results a justification for such sacrifices. Such are the laws by conformity to which a species is maintained; and if we assume that the preservation of the species is a *desideratum*, there arises in it an obligation to conform to these laws, which we may call, according to the case in question, quasi-ethical or ethical (p. 6).



In his second chapter, on Sub-human Justice, he begins by observing that he will now pass over the principles of action conducive to the preservation of the family, and have regard only to those opposed principles which exclusively concern adults. This law is the survival of the fittest, which he tells us: "In ethical [!] terms is that each individual ought to be subjected to the effects of its own nature and resulting conduct" (p. 8). He then proceeds to consider a variety of actions performed by gregarious animals, showing the survival of the fittest aggregates, and how his third law (the occasional sacrifice of individuals for the benefit of the whole flock) comes into play.

Evidently [he says] if by such conduct one variety of a gregarious species keeps up, or increases, its numbers, while other varieties, in which self-subordination thus directed does not exist, fail to do this, a certain sanction is acquired for such conduct. The preservation of the species being the higher end, it results that where an occasional mortality of individuals in defence of the species furthers their preservation in a greater degree than would pursuit of exclusive benefit by each individual, that which we recognise as sub-human justice may rightly have this second limitation (p. 14).

In his third chapter, on Human Justice, he further develops his preceding assertions, saying:

As before, so here, we see that, ethically considered, this law implies that each individual ought to receive the benefits and the evils of his own nature and consequent conduct, neither being prevented from having whatever good his actions normally bring to him, nor allowed to shoulder off on to other persons whatever ill is brought to him by his actions. To what extent such ill, naturally following from his actions, may be voluntarily borne by other persons, it does not concern us now to inquire. The qualifying effects of pity, mercy, and generosity will be considered hereafter in the parts dealing with "Negative Beneficence" and "Positive Beneficence." Here we are concerned only with pure justice (p. 17).

The chapter is filled with instances tending to show how human progress has been accompanied by increasing individual liberty, save when such liberty has had to be subordinated to the necessities of national defence.

The three succeeding chapters—on the sentiment, the idea and the formula of Justice—hardly seem to us to need criticism, when read in the light of our introductory remarks.

His seventh chapter, entitled, "The Authority of this Formula," is initiated by some excellent remarks which merit quotation. He says:

By those who have been brought up in the reigning school of politics and morals, nothing less than scorn is shown for every doc-

trine which implies restraint on the doings of immediate expediency or that appears to be such. Along with avowed contempt for "abstract principles" and generalisations, there goes unlimited faith in a motley assemblage of nominees of caucuses, ruled by ignorant and fanatical wirepullers; and it is thought intolerable that its judgments should be in any way subordinated by deductions from ethical truths (p. 49).

He continues :

Alike in philosophy, in politics, and in science, we may see that the inductive school has been carried by its violent reaction against the deductive school to the extreme of assuming that conscious induction suffices for all purposes, and that there is no need to take anything for granted. Though giving proof of an alleged truth consists in showing that it is included in some wider established truth, and though, if this wider truth is questioned, the process is repeated by demonstrating that a still wider truth includes it, yet it is tacitly assumed that this process may go on for ever without reaching a widest truth, which cannot be included in any other, and therefore cannot be proved, and the result of making this unthinking assumption is the building up of theories which, if they have not *a priori* beliefs as their bases, have no bases at all. This we shall find to be the case with the utilitarian systems of ethics and politics (p. 57).

The authority for Mr. Spencer's formula, as our readers will be prepared to expect, turns out to be nothing more than the action of the Unknowable, in the course of the process of evolution, having brought out seemingly distinct moral feelings through ancestral pressures of utility.

No higher warrant [he tells us] can be imagined; and now, accepting the law of equal freedom as an ultimate ethical principle, having an authority transcending every other, we may proceed with our inquiry (p. 61).

"Rights truly so-called," he says, in the next chapter,\* "are corollaries from the law of equal freedom, and what are falsely called rights are not deducible from it."

Of these "rights," the first (Chapter IX.) is that "to physical integrity;" the next (Chapter X.), "to free motion and locomotion"; and the next (Chapter XI.), "to the right uses of natural media, such as light and unpolluted air." As to the last matter he observes :

In some measure all are severally obliged, by their own respiration, to vitiate the air respired by others, when they are in proximity. It needs but to walk a little distance behind one who is smoking, to perceive how widely diffused are the exhalations from each person's lungs. . . . Aggression occurs only when vitiation by one,

\* VIII. "Its Corollaries," p. 63.

or some, has to be borne by others who do not take like shares in the vitiation; as often happens in railway-carriages, where men who think themselves gentlemen smoke in other places than those provided for smokers; perhaps getting from fellow-passengers a nominal, though not a real, consent, and careless of the permanent nuisance entailed on those who afterwards travel in compartments reeking with stale tobacco-smoke (p. 83).

Land, as one of the "natural media," is recognised by Mr. Herbert Spencer as being subject to an equitable claim on the part of the community as against individual landowners, yet he is entirely opposed to such views as those of Mr. George, and has been converted from analogous ones he himself formerly held, and which he published in 1850 in his "Social Statics."

It is quite true that modern ownership is, in a sense, a legal novelty, and that, as Sir Frederick Pollock says: \* "The people who exercise rights of common exercise them by a title which, if we could only trace it all the way back, is far more ancient than the lord's. Their rights are those which belonged to the members of the village community long before manors and lords of the manor were heard of."

Nevertheless, Mr. Spencer declares:

Even were it possible to rectify the inequitable doings which have gone on during the past thousand years, and by some balancing of claims and counter-claims, past and present, to make a rearrangement equitable in the abstract, the resulting state of things would be a less desirable one than the present. Setting aside all financial objections to nationalisation, it suffices to remember the inferiority of public administration to private administration, to see that ownership by the State would work ill. Under the existing system of ownership, those who manage the land experience a direct connection between effect and benefit; while, were it under State ownership, those who managed it would experience no such direct connection. The vices of officialism would inevitably entail immense evils (p. 270).

Mr. Spencer next considers (Chapters XII. and XIII.) the rights of property, corporeal and incorporeal, to which follows a chapter (XIV.) on "The Rights of Gift and Bequest."

After premising that complete ownership implies power to make over the ownership to another, he adds:

The right of gift implies the right of bequest; for a bequest is a postponed gift. If a man may legitimately transfer what he possesses to another, he may legitimately fix the time at which it shall be transferred. When he does this by a will, he partially makes the transfer, but provides that the transfer shall take effect only when his own power of possession ceases. And his right to

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\* "The Land Laws," p. 2.

make a gift, subject to this condition, is included in his right of ownership, since, otherwise, his ownership is incomplete (p. 119).

This appears to us to be well put, but it is followed by a refusal to recognise the right of direction to "uses," save for children, and by an unequivocal support of laws of mortmain—as might have been expected. But surely if a man has an evident right to transfer his property to another on the condition that he shall only have it at his death, he has no less right to have an agreement with him as to the uses to which he shall put it when he gets it. He is not bound to give it at all to any one who does not agree to his conditions, and certainly Mr. Spencer, who deems that one of the two main duties of the State is to enforce contracts, must allow that the State's duty is to enforce this contract also.

In Chapter XV. on "The Rights of Free Exchange and Free Contract," Mr. Spencer, who we need hardly say, is a free trader, makes some incidental remarks which bear on strikes. He says that we need feel no surprise at the Anti-corn Law agitation having based its efforts on expediency, not on equity, when

We remember that even still the majority of men do not admit that there should be freedom of exchange in respect of work and wages. Blinded by what appear to be their interests, artisans and others tacitly deny the rights of employers and employed to decide how much money shall be given for so much labour. In this instance the law is in advance of the average opinion: it insists that each citizen shall be at liberty to make whatever bargain he pleases for his services, while the great mass of citizens insist that each shall not be at liberty to do this (p. 129).

He, nevertheless, allows that the outcry against "being 'dependent on foreigners,' which was common during the Anti-corn Law agitation, was not without some justification, since it is only during well-assured peace that a nation may, without risk, buy a large part of its food abroad instead of growing it" (p. 131.)

After a short chapter on "The Right to Free Industry" comes one (XVII.) on "The Rights to Free Belief and Worship." Mr. Spencer, of course, advocates the widest freedom, yet not without exceptions which would serve the purpose of any moderately astute persecutors. Thus he observes:

Effectual use of the combined forces of the community presupposes subordination to the Government and to the agencies appointed for carrying on war, and it may rationally be held that the open avowal of convictions which, if general, would paralyse the executive agency, ought not to be allowed" (p. 139).

Queen Elizabeth and James I. would have found this maxim

quite sufficient for their purposes as regards either Catholics or Puritans.

In treating of "The Rights of Free Speech and Publication" (Chapter XVIII.) he has to deal with the question of sexual morality, which is indeed a trying one for him, since he places no limits to the rights of adults, save those depending on the similar rights of others. His declarations are naturally somewhat vague. They are as follows :

The question is a difficult one—appears, indeed, to admit of no satisfactory solution. On the one hand, it seems beyond doubt that unlimited license of speech on these matters may have the effect of undermining ideas, sentiments, and institutions which are socially beneficial ; for, whatever are the defects in the existing *régime*, we have strong reasons for believing that it is in most respects good. If this be so, it may be argued that publication of doctrines which tend to discredit this *régime* is undoubtedly injurious, and should be prevented. Yet, on the other hand, we must remember that in like manner it was, in the past, thought absolutely certain that the propagators of heretical opinions ought to be punished, lest they should mislead and eternally damn those who heard them ; and this fact suggests that there may be danger in assuming too confidently that our opinions concerning the relations of the sexes are just what they should be. In all times and places people have been positive that their ideas and feelings on these matters, as well as on religious matters, have been right ; and yet, assuming that we are right, they must have been wrong. Though here in England we think it clear that the child marriages in India are vicious, yet most Hindus do not think so ; and though among ourselves the majority do not see anything wrong in mercantile marriages, yet there are many who do. In parts of Africa not only is polygamy regarded as proper, but monogamy is condemned, even by women ; while in Thibet polyandry is not only held right by the inhabitants, but is thought by travellers to be the best arrangement practicable in their poverty-stricken country. In presence of the multitudinous differences of opinion, found even among civilised peoples, it seems scarcely reasonable to take for granted that we alone are above criticism in our conceptions and practices ; and unless we do this, restraints on free speech concerning the relations of the sexes may possibly be hindrances to something better and higher.

After a retrospect (Chapter XIX.) Mr. Spencer, in the two succeeding chapters, treats of the rights of women and children. Therein he briefly reviews the upward growth of good treatment of the gentler sex, from the Fijian, who, when first met with by Europeans, might kill and eat his wife if he pleased. He is, of course, an advocate of a great degree of equality between the sexes, yet he is by no means a thorough-going upholder of "women's rights." To the question, "Are the political rights of women the same as those of men ?" he replies :

The assumption that they are the same is now widely made. Along with that identity of rights above set forth as arising from the human nature common to the two sexes, there is supposed to go an identity of rights in respect to the direction of public affairs. At first sight it seems that the two properly go together, but consideration shows that this is not so. Citizenship does not include only the giving of votes, joined now and again with the fulfilment of representative functions. It includes also certain serious responsibilities, but if so, there cannot be equality of citizenship, unless along with the share of good there goes the share of evil. To call that equality of citizenship, under which some have their powers *gratis*, while others pay for their powers by undertaking risks, is absurd. Now men, whatever political powers they may in any case possess, are at the same time severally liable to the loss of liberty, to the privation, and occasionally to the death, consequent on having to defend the country; and if women, along with the same political powers, have not the same liabilities, their position is not one of equality, but one of supremacy (p. 165).

In Chapter XXII., on "Political Rights—so-called," he directs attention to the frequency with which mere "means" come to be regarded as "ends." Thus, the fact that political power, when in the hands of a few, has been used for their unfair advantage, while its wider distribution has caused greater justice, has, he urges, led men to identify the maintenance of rights with the power of giving a vote. The consequence of this has been that the instrument for maintaining rights has come to be regarded as itself a right, often usurping, in the general apprehension, the place of rights properly so called.

How true this is [he continues] "we shall learn on observing that where so-called political rights are possessed by all, rights properly so called are often unscrupulously trampled upon. In France, bureaucratic despotism under the Republic is as great as it was under the Empire: exactions and compulsions are no less numerous and peremptory; and, as was declared by the English trade-union delegates to the Congress in Paris, the invasion of citizens' liberties in France goes to an extent which "is a disgrace to, and an anomaly in, a Republican nation." Similarly in the United States, universal suffrage does not prevent the corruptions of municipal governments, which impose heavy local taxes and do very inefficient work; does not prevent the growth of general and local organisations by which each individual is compelled to surrender his powers to wirepullers and bosses; does not prevent citizens from being coerced in their private lives by dictating what they shall not drink; does not prevent an enormous majority of consumers from being heavily taxed by a protective tariff for the benefit of a small minority of manufacturers and artisans; nay, does not even effectually preserve men from violent deaths, but, in sundry States, allows of frequent murders, checked only by law officers, who are themselves liable to be shot in the performance of their duties (p. 178).



After observing that men may use their equal freedom to put themselves in bondage, he defers the further discussion of governmental matters till he has considered, as in the next (XXIII.) chapter he proceeds to do, "The Nature of the State," and then treats of what he regards as its duties and their limits, his four last chapters (XXVI. to XXIX.) being devoted to a consideration of the latter. Therein (p. 240) he strongly condemns that ignoring of "abstract principles" in favour of presumed "practical results," which is so common amongst us: as he had previously (p. 148) complained of that distrust of definite conclusions, and that positive aversion to system, which is also so widely diffused in England. He very reasonably contends that no

adherent of that political creed pursues with consistency this method of judging by "the merits of the case." Contrariwise, throughout by far the most important classes of cases they pursue the method they ridicule. Bring them to the test, and they will emphatically repudiate guidance by "the merits of the case," when the case is one in which the issues are simple and clear.

In explanation of the frequent escapes of thieves in public thoroughfares, a letter to one of the daily papers narrates how, after witnessing a theft, the writer asked a man who was passed by the thief when running away why he did not stop him. The reply was, "I was not going to stop the poor fellow. I expect the things he stole would do him more good than the man he stole them from." Here, consideration of "the merits of the case" was the avowed way of judging; the relative degrees of happiness of the thief and the person robbed were estimated, and the decision justified the theft. "But the rights of property must be maintained," it would be objected. "Society would dissolve if men were allowed to take other men's goods on the plea that they had more need of them than the owners." Just so. But this is not judging by "the merits of the case;" it is judging by conformity to a general principle (p. 243).

Therefore Mr. Spencer proceeds with his deduction of laws from his ideal principles. And he does so very reasonably. It is true that follies, and even crimes, have been committed in seeking to realise abstract political ideas, without due regard to circumstances of time and place. But (as we observed many years ago) this is not a justification for erecting empiricism itself into an ideal. Let us at least *try* to be rational. God has given us our reason as the test and measure of all that comes within the range of our experience, and of much that transcends it. If teaching drawn from principles may be pernicious, certainly teaching drawn from the mere chapter of accidents, with avowed disregard of principles, must be yet more so.

We do not see that Mr. Spencer has given any definition of "the State." For us, "a State" means that plexus of conditions



and relations existing between a mass of individuals which constitutes them an organised, independent whole. The "State," as "a State," has, of course, no existence apart from the individuals who compose it, yet it really exists as a certain condition of relationship in such individuals—just as a "genus" and a species (which have no separate objective existence) exist in the characters and propensities possessed by the various individual animals or plants which may together make up such natural groups. The individual men who wield the power of the complex mass form the "Government" of the State.

Every "State," then, should be organised for the benefit of the individuals who form it, and every "Government" should exist exclusively for their service and welfare. But it is no less evident that each individual has duties as well as rights in the forces of the "State" and "Government" in which he is included. For his duties to his fellow-men not only regard their fellow-men in their individual capacity, but also regard them in their related aspect as members of a State and subjects of a Government. The duty is really to individuals always, but (as it is to individuals so specially related) we may, for convenience and shortness, speak of duties to "the State," although the expression requires to be used cautiously, as it is a misleading one, because apt to favour the sacrifice of realities to abstractions. With regard to the *duty of the State towards the individual*, its supreme duty is to promote the moral welfare of its members. Therefore the motto, "The greatest happiness for the greatest number," though an admirable expression of benevolence and good in itself, yet, as expressing the one great aim and end of social organisation, is a false and degrading principle; but since all human moral worth and true merit depends upon our freedom of choice, it cannot be produced by force. God Himself could not extirpate vice from mankind save by destroying the existing freedom of our nature, and thereby destroying mankind itself, as known to us.

But Mr. Spencer, when occupied with his deductions from his own principles, makes some remarks and adduces certain instances which we desire to bring to the notice of our readers. Thus, after recognising the plain fact that men, as a rule and on the average, will be swayed by what they think their interests, he remarks as follows:

A generation ago, while agitations for the wider diffusion of political power were active, orators and journalists daily denounced the class legislation of the aristocracy. But there was no recognition of the truth that if, instead of the class at that time paramount, another class were made paramount, there would result a new class legislation in place of the old. That it has resulted every day proves.

If it is true that a generation ago landowners and capitalists so adjusted public arrangements as to ease themselves and to press unduly upon others, it is no less true that now artisans and labourers, through representatives who are obliged to do their bidding, are fast remoulding our social system in ways which achieve their own gain through others loss. . . . It is not true, then, that the possession of political power by all ensures justice to all. Contrariwise, experience makes obvious that which should have been obvious without experience, that with a universal distribution of votes the larger class will inevitably profit at the expense of the smaller class. . . . Evidently the constitution of the State appropriate to that industrial type of society in which equity is fully realised, must be one in which there is not a representation of individuals, but a representation of interests. For the health of the social organism, and the welfare of its members, a balance of functions is requisite; and this balance cannot be maintained by giving each function a power proportionate to the number of functionaries (p. 191).

He adds :

The truth we have to recognise is that with such humanity as now exists, and must for a long time exist, the possession of what are called equal political rights will not ensure the maintenance of equal rights properly so called (p. 193).

He concludes as follows :

During the days when extensions of the franchise were in agitation, a maxim perpetually repeated was — "Taxation without representation is robbery." Experience has since made it clear that, on the other hand, *representation without taxation entails robbery* (p. 200). [The italics are ours.]

Returning incidentally to the question of women's rights, he observes :

The comparative impulsiveness of women is a trait which would make increase of their influence an injurious factor in legislation. Human beings at large, as at present constituted, are far too much swayed by special emotions, temporarily excited, and not held in check by the aggregate of other emotions; and women are carried away by the feelings of the moment still more than men are. This characteristic is at variance with that judicial-mindedness which should guide the making of laws (p. 194).

As to the administration of the laws, Mr. Spencer is of opinion that it should be carried on at the public expense. He says :

The proposition that it is the duty of the State to administer justice without cost, in civil as well as in criminal cases, is ridiculed. . . . It is argued that did the State arbitrate between men *gratis*, the courts would be so choked with cases as to defeat the end

by delay, to say nothing of the immense expense entailed on the country. But this objection proceeds upon the vicious assumption that while one thing is changed other things remain the same. It is supposed that if justice were certain and could be had without cost, the number of trespasses would be as great as now when it is uncertain and expensive. The truth is that the immense majority of civil offences are consequent on the inefficient administration of justice—would never have been committed had the penalties been certain.

But when we come to contemplate it, it is a marvellous proposition, this which the objection implies, that multitudinous citizens should be left to bear their civil wrongs in silence or risk them in trying to get them rectified; and all because the State, to which they have paid great sums in taxes, cannot be at the trouble and expense of defending them. The public evil of discharging this function would be so great that it is better for countless citizens to suffer the evils of impoverishment, and many of them of bankruptcy. Meanwhile, through the officers of its local agents, the State is careful to see that their stink-traps are in order (p. 211).

We have often enough raised our voices as loudly as we could against Cæsarism. The following objections against the democratic form of it seem to us well put :

One who denies the unlimited authority of the State is sure to be regarded by men at large as a fool or a fanatic. Instead of that "divinity which doth hedge a king," we have here the divinity which doth hedge a parliament. The many-headed government appointed by multitudes of ignorant people, which has replaced the single-headed government supposed to be appointed by heaven, claims, and is accorded, the same unrestricted powers. The sacred right of the majority, who are mostly stupid and ill-informed, to coerce the minority, often more intelligent and better informed, is supposed to extend to all commands whatever which the majority may issue, and the rectitude of this arrangement is considered self-evident (p. 225).

With respect to this method of considering probable results instead of just principles, Mr. Spencer speaks of well-meaning persons who, ignoring the dictations of pure equity, adopt measures opposed to equity in the hope that they will do good. Such a one

if it is a question of providing books and newspapers in so-called free libraries, he contemplates results which he makes no doubt will be beneficial; and practically ignores the inquiry whether it is just to take by force the money of A. B. and C. to pay for the gratifications of D. E. and F. Should his aim be the repression of drunkenness and its evils, he thinks exclusively of these ends, and, determined to impose his own beliefs on others, tries to restrict their freedom of exchange and to abolish business in which capital has been invested with legal and social assent (p. 240).

In speaking of phenomena connected with strikes, he remarks :

See again what has resulted from the late dock strike, or rather, from the ill-judged sympathy which, guided by "the merits of the case," led public and police to tolerate the violence employed by dockers to achieve their ends. Successful use in this case of assaulting, bullying, and boycotting, promoted elsewhere strikes enforced by like means—at Southampton, Tilbury, Glasgow, Nottingham, &c. Other classes followed the lead—painters, leather-workers, cabinet-makers, scale-makers, bakers, carpenters, printers, sandwich-men, &c. And these men prompted like movements in Australia and America. Then, as secondary results, came the stoppages and perturbations of businesses, and through them of connected businesses, with consequent decrease of employment. Among tertiary results we have encouragement of the delusion that it only requires union for workers to get what terms they please, prompting suicidal demands. And, among still remoter results, we have the urging on of meddling legislation and the fostering of socialistic ideas (p. 244).

As to the superiority of private enterprise over State agency, Mr. Spencer observes :

From the cutting of a Suez Canal and the building of a Forth Bridge, to the insurance of ships, houses, lives, crops, windows, the exploration of unknown regions, the conducting of travellers' excursions, down to automatic supply-boxes at railway stations and the loan of opera glasses at theatres, private enterprise is ubiquitous and infinitely varied in form ; and when repressed by State agency in one direction, buds out in another. Reminding us of the way in which, in Charles II.'s time, there was commenced in London a local penny-post, which was suppressed by the Government, we have in the Boy Messengers Company and its attempted suppression, illustrations of the efficiency of private enterprise and the obstructiveness of officialism. And then, if there needs to add a case showing the superiority of spontaneously-formed agencies, we have it in the American Express Companies, of which one has 7000 agencies, has its own express trains, delivers 25,000,000 parcels annually, is employed by the Government, has a money-order system which is replacing that of the Post-office, and has now extended its business to Europe, India, Africa, South America and Polynesia (p. 243).

On this subject he continues :

Even if we disregard ethical restraints, and even if we ignore the inferences to be drawn from that progressing specialisation which societies show us, we still find strong reasons for holding that State functions should be restricted rather than extended.

Extension of them in pursuit of this or that promised benefit, has all along proved disastrous. The histories of all nations are alike in exhibiting the enormous evils that have been produced by legisla-

tion, guided merely by "the merits of the case;" while they unite in proving the success of legislation which has been guided by considerations of equity.

Evidence thrust before us every morning shows throughout the body-politic and fructifying causation so involved that not even the highest intelligence can anticipate the aggregate effects. The practical politician so called, who thinks that the influences of his measure are to be shut up within the limits of the field he contemplates, is one of the wildest of theorists. And then, while his faith in the method of achieving artificially this or that end is continually discredited by failures to work the effects intended, and by working unintended effects, he shows no faith in those natural forces which in the past have done much, and are at present doing more, and in the future may be expected to do the most (p. 249).

Certainly, as in Theology "Grace supposes Nature," so in the natural development of the world intellectually and ethically every Theist must anticipate that the action of revealed religion will be aided by the course of natural progress. Mr. Spencer gives expression to sentiments which cannot but be read with pleasure by Catholics who are so widely subject to oppression in the matter of education, and often exposed, as in France, to actual persecution by an ignorant majority. As to the desire so many feel that the whole community should be educated to their imperfect views and moulded to their character, he says—

Whether avowedly or not, part of the desired character must be readiness in each citizen to submit, or make his children submit, to a discipline which some or many citizens determine to impose. There may be men who think it a trait of high humanity thus to deliver over the formation of its nature to the will of an aggregate mostly formed of inferior units. But with such we will not argue (p. 255)

We have now placed before our readers as thorough an account as the space at our disposal allows of Mr. Spencer's recent work, and we have thought it well to furnish them with copious extracts from its, to us, interesting pages. If the fundamental and necessary incompleteness of Mr. Spencer's own system of ethics, and therefore, of his notions of justice, be carefully borne in mind, his recent work will be found valuable suggestive and instructive: and, with this proviso, we can cordially recommend it to the attention of the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW.

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

## ART. II.—SIR JOHN FRANKLIN AND THE FAR NORTH.

*Sir John Franklin and the North-West Passage.* By Captain A. H. MARKHAM, R.N. London: George Philip. 1891.

**M**ARITIME discovery has, more markedly perhaps than any other branch of research, been impelled by error to blunder into truth. The mirage of a short cut to the East that beckoned Columbus to glory has lured many a navigator through other seas to an unrewarded doom. The dream of a hyperborean route to India by the north of Asia or America, to frustrate the Portuguese monopoly of that by the Cape of Good Hope, was based on a conception of the configuration of those continents as false as that entertained by the Genoese of the shape of the globe itself. The vast expansion of the land along the high parallels of the northern hemisphere was a fact unrecked of by speculative geography, and it was thought that a comparatively narrow projection of the contour of each into the Polar basin would prove the only obstacle to free communication between the warmer seas on either side. Thus, when William Barentz, who first circumnavigated Novaya Zemlya in 1594, found himself steering south along the shore of the Gulf of Obi beyond, he nothing doubted that he had doubled the classical Tabis, the supposed northernmost promontory of Asia, and had sailed right into the opulent China Seas. The magnitude of an error which curtailed the diameter of Asia by no less than a hundred degrees of longitude seems almost incredible to present knowledge, yet a like miscalculation was made by the English navigator, Thomas Dutton, who having in 1612 sailed through Hudson's Straits, took the wider expanse beyond for the Pacific, and believed that, having passed the fabled Straits of Anian, supposed to separate Asia from America, he would find Japan to be the first land lying across his bow.

The long-deferred realisation of the navigator's dream of a Polar passage proved how illusory were all the projects based upon it. A route entailing navigation for thousands of miles through ice-encumbered seas, along the ragged fringes of the new or old continents, might as well, for all purposes of commercial utility, have no existence. The impracticability of this *ignis fatuus* of mediæval adventure is shown by the negative results of its substantiation. Both passages have been proved to exist, yet only one ship, the *Vega*, has ever succeeded in making the actual transit from ocean to ocean by the one or the other. In her memorable voyage, favoured probably by an exceptional season, and under an exceptional commander, she achieved the feat of



reaching the China Seas by the northern coast of Asia, and of completing the circumnavigation of the old continent by returning through the Suez Canal. But no repetition of the exploit has been even attempted in the twelve years that have elapsed since, and it remains a solitary fact in the annals of navigation.

Still less practicable as a thoroughfare has proved the corresponding route in the Western Hemisphere. Traced by overlapping voyages from opposite directions, the North-West Passage has never been, and we are almost tempted to say never will be, traversed throughout by any single ship. Yet the record of its exploration, thus from a utilitarian point of view barren of result, has an interest which will live while the story of human heroism and endurance shall have power to stir the human heart. The courage which can dare to meet death at the cannon's mouth is indeed but a puny sentiment compared to that required to face the awful shapes of terror in which he confronts the Arctic voyager, nor can endurance be put to a severer test than that imposed even by the ordinary conditions of an Arctic winter. There life is sustained only under a pressure which impedes and clogs all the animal functions. The warmth of the body is maintained by a wasting expenditure of vital energy, and the frame is exhausted by the bare effort to live.

To suffering from cold is added privation of light, and the sun, when he disappears for three or four months below the horizon, leaves all living things a prey to nervous prostration, which so lowers and debilitates the whole organism, that when light returns with the advent of spring, it shows blanched and emaciated faces, like those of convalescents in a hospital ward. These physical woes are accompanied by material inconveniences resulting from the extreme of temperature encountered. Solid food is hardened to an iron consistency that makes mastication a painful and difficult process. Liquids must not only be thawed before being swallowed, but often poured by another down the throat of the imbibor, lest the contact of the chilled metal of the vessel should bring away the skin of the lips. Cleanliness becomes impossible when water freezes instantly if removed a few inches from the fire. The condensation of the breath forms pendant icicles wherever men are congregated together, and, remelting, saturates their clothes and bedding. The extent to which it accumulates may be estimated from the fact that 100 cwts. of ice thus formed were removed from the lower deck of the *Hecla* after an Arctic winter. Lieutenant Payer, in his journal, describes the atmospheric conditions between decks as follows:—

When any one comes below, the temperature falls. If the door be opened there rolls in a mass of white vapour. If any one opens a book he has brought with him, it smokes as if it were on fire. A



cloud surrounds those that enter, and if a drop of water falls upon their clothes it is at once converted into ice, even at the stove.\*

These, however, are but the normal incidents of Arctic life under its most favourable conditions, relieved as cheerful experiences on the background of its darker possibilities. Disease in its most dreadful forms, famine ever impending in a climate where the soil furnishes nothing towards the support of life, dangers untold and unimaginable, from the frozen element, which has all the instability of water with the momentum of a solid body—these are among the weapons in the armoury of Nature ever ready to be turned against the intruder into her uttermost stronghold of desolation. No greater proof could be afforded of the primacy of mind over matter than that man should, even under such dread penalties, refuse to abdicate his sovereignty of the universe, still asserting his indefeasible right to subdue and occupy to its remotest and most inhospitable bounds the planet assigned him as his inheritance. Only this instinct of dominion, deeply implanted in his nature, can lend charms to the privations, and fascination to the terrors of the wilderness of ice, investing the Polar regions with a special attraction for adventurous spirits in all ages. Thus an Arctic expedition is by no means the least popular form of naval service, and those who have once taken part in one are generally found, not only willing, but anxious, to brave again its familiar hardships and perils. Without such spirits England would never have attained her place in the world's history, and she does well to cherish their memories. No page in her annals is richer in examples of heroic self-sacrifice in the cause of duty than that which records the discovery of the North-West Passage, the barren though glorious realisation of the dream of ages.

After the voyages of Hudson and Baffin in 1610 and 1616 had resulted in the discovery of the two great arms of the sea which respectively bear their names, there was a pause of two centuries in English effort to follow up the track thus opened into the Polar Sea. The establishment of the great fur preserves of the Hudson's Bay Company was the practical outcome of the voyage of the first-named navigator; but though the charter of these merchants bound them to make the most strenuous exertions for the discovery of a western passage, the obligation was fulfilled only in a very half-hearted way. The expeditions sent out by them with this object added little to the knowledge already gained, and either perished miserably in the mystery of the vast unknown, or returned baffled from the attempt to penetrate it.

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\* "New Lands within the Arctic Circle." By Julius Payer. London : Macmillan & Co. 1876.

A national expedition, fitted out in 1746 at a cost of £10,000, under the command of Captains Moor and Smith, was equally unsuccessful, and failed to find the western extension of Hudson's Strait, though discovery was stimulated by a promised reward of £20,000. The death of Captain Cook, whose third voyage was intended to have effected the circumnavigation of America by proceeding eastward from Behring's Straits, frustrated the last project of Arctic research entertained during that century.

The revived ardour with which it was prosecuted by the British Government during 1818 and subsequent years, was due, in part at least, to an erroneous assumption. The great ice-curtain which closes the North Atlantic for 1400 miles from Greenland to beyond Spitzbergen, sways between the 70th and 80th parallels as its summer limits, according to the mildness or severity of the seasons, but with a curvature in one part of its line forming the wide bay known as the Whalers' Bight. In the three summers subsequent to 1815 there was, however, a concurrence of opinion among the captains of ships employed in the Greenland fishery, that the ice-barrier had become so exceptionally weakened as to render the Arctic Sea comparatively open and accessible to navigation, and theorists went so far as to base on this evidence the hypothesis of a permanent change in the climate of the Polar regions sufficient to break down the adamantine bulwarks that defended them from all approach. Hence the fresh impulse which urged England once again on the quest of northern research and exploration. In the year 1818 two expeditions were sent out from her shores, designed respectively, the one to open up the North-West Passage, the other to penetrate from the North Atlantic to the Pole itself. The first, consisting of the *Isabella* and *Alexander*, commanded by Captain Ross and Lieutenant Parry, returned after having sailed round the recesses of Baffin's Bay without effecting its object, and was principally memorable as having launched the last-named of those officers on his career of Arctic adventure. The second expedition, consisting of the *Dorothea* and *Trent*, had a similar history, since the fame of its chief, Captain Buchan, was also destined to be eclipsed by that of his second in command.

Lieutenant Franklin, who on this occasion first made acquaintance with the Polar ice in command of the brig *Trent*, was thirty-two years of age when he thus performed his apprenticeship to that form of service with which his name is now so inseparably associated. In those stirring times he had, however, already become known as an able and energetic officer. Born in 1786, the twelfth and youngest son of Willingham Franklin, in the inland town of Spilsby, in Lincolnshire, the mysterious call of the sea came to him during a holiday visit to its shores. His

vocation remained unshaken by a voyage to Lisbon in a merchant ship, on which his parents, who intended him for the Church, despatched him in the hope of effecting a cure, and he entered the Navy in 1800, when just fourteen, as a midshipman on board H.M.S. *Polyphemus*. In the following year he was present at the battle of Copenhagen, in which his ship led the line, and two months later was appointed to the *Investigator*, commissioned by his kinsman, Matthew Flinders, like himself a Lincolnshire man, for the survey of the Australian coast. On this service he received invaluable training in the scientific part of his profession, and showed such aptitude for astronomical and nautical observation, that when in charge of the little observatory at Sydney he was familiarly nicknamed "Mr. Tycho Brahe." He shared his commanding officer's shipwreck in the *Porpoise*, two years later, on one of the coral reefs on the northern coast of Australia, and being thus thrown out of employment, returned to England in passenger ships *via* the East Indies. This chance enabled him to take part as signal officer in one of the most singular and brilliant engagements fought even in that heroic age of British seamanship. The East India Company's homeward-bound fleet, sixteen Indiamen and eleven country ships, sailing from Canton without convoy, which was to meet them in the Straits, was sighted off Pulo Aor, on February 14, 1804, by a French squadron, consisting of a ship of the line, three heavy frigates, and a brig. Here was a prize worth a kingdom's ransom, the like of which had not been within such easy reach of capture since the English privateers had been used to swoop down on the helpless galleons laden deep with the ingots of the Spanish Main. But Commodore Dance, of the East India Company's service, who commanded the trading fleet, was equal to the occasion, and seizing the only chance left to him, played such a successful game of bluff, that Admiral Linois, the French commander, was firmly persuaded that three of the vessels opposite him were ships of war. When Dance, after nearly twenty-four hours of preliminary manœuvring, gave the signal to engage the enemy, the latter incontinently took to flight, and for two hours was seen the extraordinary spectacle of a powerful squadron of ships of war chased by a flock of merchantmen. The English commodore, tempering valour with discretion, then recalled his ships, and pursued his voyage to England, where his exploit caused an extraordinary sensation. The East India Company, paymasters of more than royal munificence, settled on him a pension for life of £500 a year, and the Bombay Insurance Company expressed their gratitude for his efficient guardianship of the vast property entrusted to him by a donation of £5000.

The *Bellerophon* was Franklin's next ship, and in that famous

old liner he took part as signal midshipman, with considerable distinction, in the battle of Trafalgar. Getting his epaulettes in 1808, he was again employed on active service in the expedition against New Orleans in 1814, when he commanded one of the boats of the *Bedford*, and was the first to board and capture one of the enemy's gunboats. This was his last exploit in actual war, for his courage in the future was to be tried against an antagonist more formidable than any human foe. He had now reached that middle point in his career when he was to gain his first experience of Arctic ice as commander of the brig *Trent* in the Polar expedition under Captain Buchan, already mentioned. Their instructions were to reach the Pole from the North Atlantic, between Greenland and Spitzbergen, sailing thence to India through Behring's Straits. The theory that ice formed principally along the land led to the idea that the failure of previous attempts to reach high latitudes from this quarter was due to the ships having entangled themselves in the winding shores and inlets on the northern coast of Spitzbergen, while a comparatively open channel was to be found in mid-ocean. The report of the whalers, that the Atlantic ice was absolutely impenetrable, having shown this to be a delusion, the *Dorothea* sought to find an opening to the north-east of Spitzbergen, and succeeded with much difficulty in reaching open water in the latitude of  $80^{\circ} 32'$ . Here she was overtaken by a gale so terrific that the only chance of saving her lay in the desperate expedient of heading her right for the pack, into which she crashed with such momentum as to penetrate it to twice her own length. She issued from this berth too disabled to continue her voyage, or even to dispense with the attendance of her consort, and allow her to prosecute her mission. Both ships had consequently to return home with a very discouraging report as to the practicability of any future attempt from the same direction.

Lieutenant Parry, on the other hand, had returned from the equally unsuccessful expedition under Captain Ross, with the conviction that Lancaster Sound, declared by the latter officer to be a *cul-de-sac*, would prove to be the long-sought outlet of Baffin's Bay. Having succeeded in convincing the Admiralty that the contrary conclusion had been too hastily arrived at, he was entrusted with the command of a fresh expedition, consisting of the *Hecla* and *Griper*, and on May 19, 1819, sailed from the Nore on the first of a series of the most memorable Arctic explorations made for two centuries. The results of this voyage alone were the discovery of the westerly opening of Baffin's Bay, the establishment of the existence, previously disputed, of a Polar Sea north of America, the discovery of the large group of the North Georgian or Parry Islands in its basin, and the attainment

of a longitude thirty degrees farther west than that reached by any previous navigator, thus securing the reward of £5000 promised to the first ship which should pass the 110th meridian.

Franklin, simultaneously despatched on a land journey to work on parallel lines to those of Parry's by sea, started with Dr. (afterwards Sir John) Richardson, Hood and Back, midshipmen, two seamen, and four Orkney boatmen, for York Factory, on Hudson's Bay. Their instructions were to make their way by the line of the lakes and rivers, dragging their boats in some places overland, to the mouth of the Coppermine River, and thence along the coast eastward to the furthest limit attainable. The survey of 555 geographical miles of coast, thus effected, was dearly purchased by the toils and sufferings undergone in an absence of four years. The little party were mainly dependent for provisions on the produce of the chase, and when this failed them utterly in a terrible winter march across the "Barren Grounds," were reduced to the last extremity of famine. Some died, and some, more dreadful still, were murdered by their companions, one of whom was put to death for the crime. The remnant of the party, who had remained with Franklin, were rescued by the Eskimos, and brought back in a pitiable state to their original starting-point. "Thus terminated (wrote Franklin) our long, fatiguing, and disastrous travels in North America, having journeyed by water and land (including our navigation of the Polar Sea) 5550 miles."

The rank of post-captain rewarded the services of Franklin, who had in his absence been promoted to that of commander, and the brief period of leisure he now enjoyed was devoted to writing an account of his adventurous journey. He also found time to pay his addresses to Miss Eleanor Porden, a lady whose acquaintance he had made on his last return from active service through her having celebrated in verse his Arctic voyage in the *Trent*. He married her on August 19, 1823, having, it is said, made the express condition that "she would never, under any circumstances, seek to turn her husband aside from the duty he owed to his country and his profession."

The sincerity of this pledge was tested ere many months had passed, for Franklin then entered into negotiations with the Admiralty in reference to the despatch of a fresh expedition, to co-operate by land with that about to be sent by sea under Captain Parry. In accordance with his proposal he was entrusted with the command of a small party instructed to proceed overland from New York to Lake Huron, and thence by lake and river to the coast. Tracing the outline of the latter westward as far as Kotzebue Sound, they were to be met there by the *Blossom*, sent to the rendezvous by way of Behring Straits. In pursuance of

these orders, Franklin, accompanied by Back, Richardson, and Kendall, left England on February 16, 1825.

His domestic circumstances made the sacrifice of leaving home a grievous one, for his wife, who had fallen into a decline after the birth of a little daughter some months previously, died within six days of his departure. Despite the fatal character of her illness he seems to have been unprepared for its abrupt termination, as the news, when it reached him on the shores of Lake Huron, came upon him as a great shock. The pathos of his bereavement was accentuated when, later on, he planted the British flag on the shores of the Arctic Ocean, using for the purpose a silk Union-jack embroidered by her in anticipation of this moment. But his arduous duties left little time for the indulgence of personal regrets, for he had now to return to provide winter quarters for his party on the shores of the Great Bear Lake. Here the months of inaction were passed in huts, without any other privations than those incident to the climate, and the following summer was utilised in a series of systematic explorations, which added much to the then imperfect knowledge of the coast of North America.

Returned to England in 1827, Franklin married, in November of the following year, his second wife, Miss Griffin, whose name as Jane, Lady Franklin, remains for ever associated with the memorable search for his lost expedition. She shared with him, during the years that followed, the most tranquil period of his life of action, accompanied him to the Mediterranean, where he held command, after having received the honour of knighthood, from 1830 to 1833, and to Tasmania, where he filled the post of lieutenant-governor from January, 1837, to November, 1843. She interested herself deeply in the condition of the female convicts, and took an active part in all her husband's humane efforts for the amelioration of the lot of the outcasts for whom that colony still served as a place of deportation, expending considerable sums out of her private means on these and other works of beneficence.

On Franklin's return to England in 1844 the subject of Polar research was again engaging public attention. In the southern hemisphere Sir James Ross had completed his remarkable voyage with the *Erebus* and *Terror*; while at the opposite Pole, Sir Edward Parry, in a series of voyages, had ascertained much of the geography of the seas west of Baffin's Bay, and the land journeys of Back and Dease, Simpson and Rae, had almost filled up the blank previously existing in the outline of the North American coast. The exploration of a comparatively narrow tract of sea was alone required to set at rest the vexed question of the North-West Passage, and, as was scarcely doubted, to establish its existence. A fresh expedition for this purpose was therefore



decided on, and Franklin, as the senior officer with Arctic experience then in England, claimed to command it. To the objection of the First Lord of the Admiralty, that he was sixty years of age, he promptly replied, "No, my lord, only fifty-nine"; and his determination to carry his point being thus evident, he was given the appointment on the spot. The *Erebus* and *Terror*, just returned from the Antarctic Seas, were recommissioned for a voyage to the opposite Pole, the former by Franklin himself, the latter by Captain Crozier as his second in command. Both ships were fitted for the first time in Arctic navigation with auxiliary screws, and provisioned, as was thought, for three years. Thus equipped for their perilous voyage, they sailed from Greenhithe on May 18th, 1845, never to be sighted from English shores again.

In the beginning of July they were at Disco Island, on the western coast of Greenland, and thence the last direct news of their movements reached home in the shape of a letter from Commander Fitzjames, of the *Erebus*, saying that "Sir John was delightful," and that all were in the best spirits. An Aberdeen whaler saw the two ships somewhat later at the entrance of Lancaster Sound, sailing west before a fair wind, and so disappearing into that shroud of mystery which was to be wholly rent aside only after the lapse of fourteen years. For from that day forth no tidings of the missing ships reached England, and uneasiness grew to fear, and fear to horror, as the years rolled away and brought no sign. As early as the winter of 1846-47 some apprehension began to be felt, and in the following summer, despite the belief that the vessels had supplies for three years, large stores of provisions were sent out to various points on the Arctic coast in charge of Dr. Rae and Sir John Richardson. As another winter passed without news, serious fears of disaster were universally entertained, and in the summer of 1848 began that series of search expeditions, public and private, English and American, which form such a unique chapter in naval history.

Lady Franklin, who had naturally been one of the first to take alarm, co-operated from the beginning by the offer of a reward of £2,000, and subsequently by the despatch at different times of five ships, fitted out almost entirely at her own expense. The "Dictionary of National Biography," in its article on Sir John Franklin, summarises as follows these various expeditions:—

One in 1847, that already mentioned from Hudson's Bay, under Richardson and Rae; five in 1848; three in 1849; ten in 1850, including those sent out by the Admiralty under Austin, Ommanney, Collinson, and McClure; two in 1851; nine in 1852, including the one under Sir Edward Belcher; five in 1853, including one in



boats and sledges under Dr. Rae, and one into Smith's Sound by Dr. Kane of the United States Navy; two in 1854; one in 1855; and one, that of the "*Fox*," in 1857.

The first traces of the missing expedition were found in 1850 by Captain Ommanney, who on Beechey Island, its earliest wintering place, came upon relics that told too truly the cause of the disaster that had overtaken it; for here, in undying witness against the fraud that had cost the lives of so many brave men, were the remains of condemned stores, tins of meat rejected in quantities as unfit for food, whose loss fatally diminished the three years' supply with which the ill-fated ships were provided. Their crews were thus as truly, and far more cruelly murdered in cold blood by their own countrymen as though they had been put to a violent death.

The track of the expedition, after its sojourn on Beechey Island, was again lost until 1854, when the first authentic intelligence of its subsequent course was gleaned by the boat party sent out by the Hudson's Bay Company under Dr. Rae, one of their employés. He learned from the Eskimos that a party of white men had been seen travelling over the ice near King William's Land four winters previously, and that their bodies were afterwards seen on the mainland, in the neighbourhood, as far as he could gather, of the Great Fish River. The truth of this story was attested by various small articles obtained from them, amongst others silver spoons, capable of identification as the property of the officers of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, and a silver plate engraved "Sir John Franklin, K.C.H."

Although the fate of the lost crews was thus substantially made known, there was a lingering doubt whether all had perished, or whether some survivors might not still be found among the Eskimo tribes along the coast. Lady Franklin at any rate clung to this despairing hope, and as the official mind preferred to consider the question finally set at rest, organised, almost entirely at her own expense, a private expedition, consisting of the steamer-yacht *Fox*, under the command of Sir Leopold McClintock. The little vessel, sailing in 1857, had an inauspicious beginning to her voyage. She had barely reached the north of Baffin's Bay when, on the very threshold of her enterprise, she was beset in the pack, and drifting southward while helpless in its icy clutch, was only released in the following summer when near the latitude of the Shetlands. Thence again threading her way northwards through the sailing bergs and floes that make Baffin's Bay in summer such a panorama of moving Alps, she forced a passage, ere another winter came upon her, through the rocky channel of Bellot's Straits, into the narrower seas beyond, where lay the secret of her search. By

a series of sledging parties over the ice in the spring of 1859, commanded by McClintock and his colleagues, Lieutenant Hobson, R.N., and Captain (now Sir Allen Young), of the merchant marine, the last relics of the Franklin expedition were finally recovered. A boat, a few skeletons, chronometers, instruments, watches, clothing, plate, books, told in disjointed fashion the sad story of its fate. But later on, in May 1859, was found a more definite record in the shape of a written document, which proved that in the interests of science at least the lives of those composing it had not been laid down in vain. The object of their quest was achieved, though for them there was no return to claim its reward, for they had, by traversing the intervening strait between the known seas to the east and to the west, actually discovered the North-West Passage. The fact that Sir Robert McClure had in 1850 found another connecting link between the known and the unknown, by penetrating to Barrow's Strait, entered by Parry in 1819, could not militate against a discovery in which they had had priority, nor need he grudge this division of laurels shared only with the dead.

The last record of the Franklin expedition, written on one of the official forms supplied to ships, with a printed polyglot request for its transmission by the finder, bore two dates. The earlier portion gave the latitude and longitude of the first winter quarters on Beechey Island, and concluded with the words "All well," so cruelly belied by what followed. Round the margin of the same form the later summary, in the handwriting of Captain Fitzjames, ran as follows:—

"25th April, 1848, H.M. ships *Terror* and *Erebus* were deserted on 22nd April five leagues N.N.W. of this, having been beset since 12th September, 1846. The officers and crews, consisting of 105 souls, under the command of Captain F. R. M. Crozier, landed here in latitude 69° 37' 42" N., longitude 98° 41' W. Sir John Franklin died on 11th June, 1847, and the total loss by deaths in the expedition has been to this date, nine officers and fifteen men."

To this was added, in the handwriting of Captain Crozier, "And start on to-morrow, 26th, for Back's Fish River."

The story of that march, on which all perished in various stages of disease and starvation, was gathered only from the natives, but nothing could add to the tragic force of the phrase of the old Eskimo woman who described them to McClintock as "falling down and dying as they walked." So, much-enduring to the end, they pass for ever from mortal ken, haloed with a memory of infinite pity and regret, into the ranks of the immortals who have died, not vainly, but for a cause.

Of the ships it was told that they too had perished: the one

sunk in deep water, to the regret of the natives, who were unable to save anything out of her; the other driven on shore, and furnishing a supply of wood and iron, the remains of which were still found in their possession. Thus the frozen sea had given up its last secret, and all that could be known on this side of eternity of the lost Franklin expedition had been discovered. Its relics, few but precious, are doubly commemorative, since they testify not only to masculine heroism, but to feminine fidelity, rewarded for a lifetime of effort by the discovery of so splendid a testimony to the fame of the unforgotten dead. To Lady Franklin's unshaken steadfastness of purpose was due the recognition of the success of her husband in attaining the end for which he and his companions had sacrificed their lives. In her widowhood the personification of a nation's mourning, she lived long to bear the pangs and wear the crown of a supreme sorrow, and died in 1875, at the age of eighty-three, occupied to the last with the task whose completion she had taken on herself. The equipment of the yacht *Pandora* to make the passage through the strait discovered by her husband's expedition, was the business of the closing months of her life, nor did she live to learn the failure of the attempt. The unveiling of the monument to Franklin in Westminster Abbey, which divided with it her last thoughts and interests, took place, too, a fortnight after her death, and the epitaph, whose composition had proved too much for her failing powers, was completed by Lord Tennyson, the nephew by marriage of the illustrious dead.

Thus closed that cycle of English adventure in search of a northern route to the East which may be said to have opened in 1553 with an expedition whose fate was an anticipation of that of Franklin three centuries later. Sir Hugh Willoughby, too, sailed into the frozen seas, to be for ever lost in the mystery that shrouds them, and owed his destruction, in part at least, to a similar cause, the inferiority of the stores supplied to him. Although the Eastern, not the Western Polar Seas, were the scene of the

“Hapless drifting past uncharted bays”

of his ship the *Good Hope* and her consort, their story, so pathetically told in Palgrave's “Visions of England,” is almost literally that of the *Erebus* and *Terror*. Their inmates, too, looked their last upon a world sheeted in the ghastly glimmer of the snows, and stamped with the same stereotyped fixity of feature:

An iron ridge o'erhung with toppling snow  
And giant beards of icicled cascade :—  
Where, frost imprisoned as the long months go,  
The *Good Hope* and her mate-ship lay embayed ;

And those brave crews knew that all hope was gone ;  
England be seen no more—no more the living sun.

A store that daily lessens 'neath their eyes ;  
A little dole of light and fire and food ;  
While Night upon them like a vampire lies,  
Bleaching the frame and thinning out the blood ;  
And through the ships the frost-bit timbers groan,  
And the Guloine prowls round, with dull, heart-curdling moan.

Then sometimes on the soul, far off, how far !  
Came back the shouting crowds, the cannon roar,  
The palace windows glittering like a star,  
The buoyant Thames, the green sweet English shore,  
The heartfelt prayers, the fireside blaze and bliss,  
The little faces bright, and woman's last, last kiss.

Since the accomplishment of the North-East Passage by the voyage of the *Vega* \* in 1879 completed our knowledge of the northern outline of both continents, the efforts of exploration have been principally directed to the actual Polar basin, with a view to either reaching the Pole itself, or to ascertaining the distribution of land and water around it. The most notable of recent discoveries in this quarter was that of Franz Josef Land, an insular group of large dimensions and as yet unascertained boundaries, lying to the north-east of Novaya Zemlya, in the Siberian Sea. Its existence was made known by one of the most romantic voyages recounted even in the thrilling records of Arctic adventure, that of the *Tegetthoff*, an Austrian steamer of only 220 tons burthen. Beset in the pack off Novaya Zemlya in August 1872, the little vessel remained for over a year exposed to the perils of the awful ice-quake in the convulsed and riven floe. But by a chance, contrary to that which usually befalls ships in such a situation, she was drifted, not southward, but to the north-east, until in the autumn of 1873 a vision of Alpine peaks suddenly looming out of the fog ahead revealed to her enraptured crew the existence of a land never gazed on by mortal eyes before. Its ice-masked contours were explored in a series of sledge journeys in the following spring, as high as the 82nd parallel, after which the ship was abandoned, and her crew, taking to their boats, made their way, after months of incredible hardship, to Novaya Zemlya, and thence to Europe. The region discovered by them consists of two large islands, separated by a frozen strait, and fringed by an archipelago of smaller glacier-covered rocks. It was almost devoid of life, animal or vegetable,

\* For the voyage of the *Vega* and its results see the DUBLIN REVIEW, April 1882.

and the hardy Polar bear, though found in such numbers as to supply abundance of animal food was, with scarcely an exception, its solitary four-footed inhabitant. From the highest latitude reached,  $82^{\circ} 5'$ , extensive mountain ranges were described on the northern horizon, and on these dim outliers of the earth the names of King Oscar Land and Petermann Land were bestowed. The Austrian flag was planted on the furthest point attained to, and this, the most northerly land in the old world, was thus added to the heterogeneous dominions of the Emperor Francis Joseph. The next and only subsequent visitor to its desolate shores was Mr. Leigh Smith, who on his steam yacht *Eira* in 1880, explored their southern windings for 110 miles. The icebergs discharged from its glaciers are, according to his observations, not peaked and pinnacled like those of Greenland, but table-topped like those of the Antarctic seas.

The latest discoveries in the Siberian seas were made by the *Jeannette*, lost in their ice-storms in 1881, and by the ships sent in search of her. Bennett Island, in latitude  $76^{\circ} 40' N.$ , and longitude  $151^{\circ} 25' E.$ , was first seen and named by her commander, Lieutenant De Long, and Wrangell Land, sighted by Captain Kellett, of H.M.S. *Herald*, in 1879, and conjectured by Petermann to be an eastern limb of Greenland, was surveyed by Lieutenant Berry, of the search vessel *Rodgers*, and found to be an island seventy miles in length by twenty-eight in width.

East of Spitzbergen, in latitude  $80^{\circ} 10' N.$  and longitude  $32^{\circ} 3' E.$ , a small island, described as a table-land rising to a height of 2100 ft., was visited in 1887 by a Swedish seaman, Captain Johannesen. Its discovery is interesting, as tending to corroborate the idea that an archipelago extends from Spitzbergen to Franz Josef Land, which by preventing the Polar ice from descending into Barentz Sea, exercises a modifying influence on the climate of Europe. Hudson, who in 1607 penetrated the Greenland seas to the latitude of  $81^{\circ} N.$ , and affirmed that he had seen land to the north-east of Spitzbergen as high as the 82nd parallel, had doubtless described either Franz Josef Land itself, or some portion of the group to which it belongs.

The most successful Arctic voyage in the western hemisphere subsequent to the Franklin search was that of the *Alert* and *Discovery*, under Sir George Nares, in 1875-76. The former ship, passing through Smith's Sound, which with its prolongations, Kennedy and Robeson Channels, seems to be the direct avenue to the Pole, reached the edge of the paleocrystic ice, cumbering the sea beyond with a crust from 80 to 100ft. thick. In face of its glacial barrier, she passed the long Arctic night in latitude  $82^{\circ} 27'$ , the highest in which a ship has ever wintered, and from this advanced point Captain Markham and Lieutenant

Parr pushed forward a sledge reconnaissance over the pack as high as  $83^{\circ} 20' 26''$ , while Lieutenant Aldrich explored the coast of Grant Land, facing the paleocrystic sea, for 220 miles to the west. The existence of an open sea, which Captain Kane and his companions, who discovered Grinnell Land in 1854, believed they saw stretching Poleward as far as the horizon, was completely disproved by this voyage.

The Greeley expedition, of tragic memory, made in 1882-83 the most systematic exploration of the Polar lands bordering on Smith's Sound. Grinnell Land was found to be buried beneath two vast sheets of ice, stretching north and south from the neighbourhood of the 82nd parallel, and divided by a valley, almost absolutely free from snow, where numerous herds of musk-oxen grazed on a comparatively luxuriant vegetation of willows, saxifrages, and grasses. The ice-cap followed the undulations of the ground with a fairly uniform depth of about 150 ft., and ended in a cliff with a nearly vertical face, modified to a slope admitting of its ascent only in two spots for a length of sixty miles. To the northern ice Major Greeley assigned a probable area of 6000 square miles, but from the indications seen by him believed both glaciers to be receding. The intervening valley he concluded to have been an arm of the sea down to a comparatively recent period, as this region shares with all ultra-northern lands the features of raised beaches and marine remains at high altitudes, indicative of their upheaval from the sea at no distant date. It is curious to find the temperature here, within eight degrees of the Pole, described as at times oppressive, rising once to  $74^{\circ}$  in the shade.

To Lieutenant Lockwood, of the United States Navy, one of the victims of this expedition, belongs the credit of having carried farthest the exploration of Northern Greenland, on the other side of Nares' paleocrystic sea, and of having reached, in the latitude of  $83^{\circ} 35' N.$ , the most northerly land known on earth. He added a new coast line of one hundred miles to the charts, and passed by some four or five miles Markham's farthest over the ice in the same region. A confused mass of soaring snowy peaks was all that could be discerned of the interior of the continent from a height of 2000 ft., while the line of coast, fringed with islands, and intersected with deep fiords, showed no signs, as far as the eye could reach, of approaching its northern termination.

The latest addition to the map of Eastern Greenland was made by a sledging party from the *Germania*, a steamer of 140 tons, fitted out by Herr Petermann, and commanded by Captain Koldewey. They reached in 1870 a headland in latitude  $76^{\circ} N.$ , which, under the name of Cape Bismarck, forms the present limit of knowledge of this part of the Arctic world. A deep



fiord, stretching far into the interior, and fringed with peaks of from 7000 to 14,000 ft. high, seen about three degrees farther south, was the most striking feature of the shores visited by the expedition.

The result of all these researches is to leave an unknown area of 3,000,000 square miles out of the 8,201,883 comprised within the Arctic Circle. The greatest nothing has been made from the direction of Smith's Sound, separating Greenland from Grinnell Land, but further advance in this quarter is barred by the *ne plus ultra* of the paleocrystic floe, while the easterly and westerly trend of the widely diverging shores leaves the Poleward way unsheltered by any land barrier. A coast line with a northerly direction and a westerly aspect is now believed to be a *sine qua non* of further progress, since experience has proved it to be destruction for any ship to enter the Polar pack, and the general westward drift of the ice necessitates a breakwater on its lee. These conditions are fulfilled only by Franz Josef Land, and from this direction, if at all, is a higher latitude than those recorded likely to be reached.

This, however, will not be the line taken by the Polar expedition now being organised by Dr. Nansen, whose remarkable feat of crossing Southern Greenland on snow shoes must still be fresh in the minds of our readers. His plan, which has at least the merit of originality, is to proceed to Behring's Straits in February 1892, in a wooden steamer of 170 tons, strengthened to bear the ice pressure, and stored with provisions for five years. Steering for the New Siberian Islands, which he expects to reach before the autumn, and there wedging his vessel in the pack, he hopes to drift in its icy cradle across the Pole to Greenland. The idea that a strong ocean current takes this course rests on the fact that a portion of the wreckage of the *Jeannette*, which foundered off the New Siberian Islands on June 13th, 1881, was picked up on a piece of floating ice off Julianehaab, on the western coast of Greenland. The grounds for the inference seem to us insufficient, for there is no reason why the fragments of the *Jeannette* should not have followed the same course as the driftwood from the Siberian rivers constantly swept round Cape Farewell by the Spitzbergen current, instead of having forced a passage through the land or ice barriers that gird the Pole.

All the indications gleaned in recent voyages seem, indeed, to denote the occupation of the unexplored north by a Polar continent, rather than by a frozen ocean. Not only the scale of the natural features of Greenland, but its very outline, as far as it is known to us, stamp it by all geographical analogy as the extremity of a larger bulk of land, a peninsula rather than an island. It seems likely that it extends across the Pole, filling

up great part of the unknown area, and breaking up on its southern edge into a fringe of islands, of which Spitzbergen and Franz Josef Land are the outworks. The existence of land to the north of the former group is deduced by hunters from the flight of birds, as well as from the occurrence of reindeer marked by the lopping of their ears among the wild ones habitually shot on the islands.

Such land is not even necessarily at any very great distance. The vapour-charged atmosphere of the far north veils the horizon with a fog curtain rarely lifted or drawn aside, and capriciously hiding from one observer the vision of dim coast-line perhaps vouchsafed to his predecessor. Nor in the glistening ice landscape is it always easy to distinguish the fixed from the floating mountain—the glacier from the floe. Hence, while fancy may, on the one hand, easily conjure up the mirage of a continent, one may, on the other, exist undetected at a comparatively short distance from the most watchful observer.

It may be doubted whether more accurate knowledge will ever take the place of the gropings of conjecture in regard to the conformation of the Polar regions. The difficulty of progress increases with every foot of advance northward, and the farther investigation is pushed, the more inviolable does it find the crystal seal set by Nature on her shining sanctuaries of desolation. The abysmal writhings of the hoary ice-crust of the sea forbid locomotion equally with the pinnacled rigidity of the ice-sheathed continent, and since neither affords the slightest sustenance to life, advance is absolutely restricted to the distance for which it is possible to transport supplies.

The ice-pack, to which Dr. Nansen proposes to trust for transport, is no less destructive in its pale fury than the tropical tornado, and treats with as little tenderness the vessel once caught in its adamantine clutches. Much as we wish success to the "hardy Norseman" in his daring attempt to cross these white thresholds of the unknown, our best hope for him is that failure may come sufficiently early in his enterprise to avert its yet more tragical termination. Nowhere on the surface of the globe is adventure threatened with such grim penalties as those which lie in wait for it in the gaunt regions whose warders are Famine and Frost.

ELLEN M. CLERKE.

## ART. III.—BLESSED THOMAS MORE.

*Life and Writings of Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England and Martyr under Henry VIII.* By the Rev. T. E. BRIDGETT, C.SS.R. London: Burns and Oates. 1891.

AT this present time the troubles of our Catholic forefathers open out thoughts full of pregnant interest and actuality. They are to us what the Acts of the first Christian Martyrs were to the Early Church, a pledge of the one Christian Faith over against the erring heathen world. The persecutors were at one only in persecuting the Christian people. Their instincts were true: neither Jew nor heretic roused their fury, because it was neither Jew nor heretic who undermined the citadel of paganism. Those very martyrs in their helplessness and anguish conquered the world to Him for Whom they laid down their lives, and the Fathers, living on the confines of the martyr age, recognised the Divine Hand, choosing its tools in ' ' and dying men.

What argument is so telling against the Anglican theory or "continuity" as those troubles which were borne because there was no continuity? They are the best proof we can have of the soul-destroying change of the sixteenth century. Vexations, fines, torture, and the scaffold were the price paid by our forefathers for their fidelity to the Holy See. As well might we say that the early martyrs were not Christians as that ecclesiastical continuity in England was unbroken in the sixteenth century. If all Englishmen had risen in a mass and laid down their lives for the Holy See when it was maintaining the purity and indissolubility of the royal marriage, there would have been no change of religion. This is the conclusion which forces itself on the mind from the perusal of these new Acts of Martyrs, and makes them the most forcible argument against the advanced Anglican standing-point. We may at once forestall the objection which might be raised as to the first Protestants in England who suffered death for their religious opinions, by applying to them Blessed Thomas More's words on counterfeit miracles: "I am sure though ye see some white sapphire or berill so well counterfeit, and so set in a ring that a right good jeweller will take it for a diamond, yet will ye not doubt, for all that, but that there be in many other rings already set right diamonds indeed. Nor ye will not mistrust St. Peter for Judas!"\*

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\* "Life," English Works, quoted by Fr. Bridgett, p. 337.

The great merit of F. Bridgett's book is to show us a true man of flesh and blood, one who was all he was in the married life, bound therefore to a certain extent by its conventionalities, and yet who from first to last in his every action carried out the device of St. Ignatius, *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. Justice is done to every one, and no word of bitterness escapes the martyr's biographer any more than it did the martyr himself. We may look in vain for what we should call a strong expression against the king from the mouth of Sir Thomas. There is not one; yet he knew the master he served as perhaps no other man in England did, and that in Henry's better days, when he was to all appearances a gifted and God-fearing prince. Dame Alice, whom we had somehow looked upon as a worldly woman, receives her measure of praise. She is not a heroine in her words, but her deeds betray her. She is one of that not uncommon type who fear to appear too pious. When her husband was in the Tower she steadfastly endured privations in order to pay his pension. It is true that she urged him to conform, but in that she did as other people. One of two things is true of her as well as of the rest of England. Either they did not see very far ahead, and the oath which they were called upon to take was a mere form, or else they were not prepared to be martyrs. It is not because one saw that all might have seen, but this much may safely be said: if men had been leading the life which Sir Thomas More had been leading in the early part of Henry's reign, they would probably have died as he did at the block. Passion obscures the spiritual vision and weakens the will. Moral decadence is the real secret of England's falling away, and the reason why we number our martyrs by hundreds instead of by thousands.

The personages who have become to us synonymous with the change of religion—Henry VIII., Anne Boleyn, Cranmer, and Cromwell—are treated by Fr. Bridgett as by the great martyr himself, with gentleness. We are not told here how Henry received the news of his old friend's execution. It is said that he was with Anne Boleyn when the messenger arrived, and that, turning to her in anger, he exclaimed: "*You are the cause of this man's death.*" These are pregnant words, but Fr. Bridgett had his own reasons for omitting them. He does not allow Anne Boleyn, who was the cause of all the strife, to destroy the impression of deep peace in which he leaves us after the martyrdom. The portrait drawn of Erasmus might possibly appear a little flattering to those who have studied him in Dr. Janssen.\* More believed in him and honoured him with his friendship. Nevertheless, the truth will

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\* See "Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes."

remain that he was one of those enigmatical characters whom we shall know only when the secrets of all hearts are revealed.

There is a singular fitness and completeness about this biography, which leaves a conviction on the mind that just the right thing has been said and omitted. The touch is so delicate that it is suggestive. From what we are told we can infer much more, and this is the perfection of biography. The reader protests against "what must have been," or, if he does not, he ought. He enjoys the silent world of heroism which is opened out to him by some chance word or deed told without what we may call the mannerisms of authors. This is a high order of portraiture, and it has been adopted here. Never was any one more perfectly and more joyously himself at all times than Blessed Thomas More. His fine sense of humour was not checked by the Tower or even by the block. To die with a jest on his lips was peculiar to the man whose wit had charmed his contemporaries, but it also illustrated his heroism. *Lætus obtulit universa*: without joy he gave nothing.

By his birth on February 7, 1478, Thomas More belonged to the last twenty years of the fifteenth century. Nothing then presaged the violent upheaving which was so soon to follow in Church and State. The Tudor conquest had seemingly delivered the country from the oppression of a bad king, although Henry VII. was no kingly soul. The Court, too, offered examples of edification. The king's mother was the holy penitent of a future martyr; and his wife, Elisabeth of York, was popularly called "the good." The premature death of Prince Arthur, by making Henry Prince of Wales, changed the destiny of England.

If the shadow of Erasmus' liberalism has hitherto fallen rather heavily on Sir Thomas, Fr. Bridgett's work will remove it altogether. An intelligent study of More's Latin and English works, now undertaken for the first time, lays to rest another phantom of the public imagination—viz., the vague supposition that he could ever have been disloyal to the Holy See or dissatisfied with the Church. The judicial mind in combination with strong faith soon arrives at St. Augustine's *intus age totum*, and rejects the undue influence of externals. More had both in no ordinary degree. He read the human heart as if it had been an open book, and the knowledge, together with the pithiness and wit of his illustrations, give him a place apart as a writer. An incident chosen from one of his letters shows how little times and men alter. "There was," he says, "at Coventry a Franciscan of the unreformed sort. This man preached in the city, the suburbs, the neighbourhood, and villages about, that whosoever should say daily the Psalter of the Blessed Virgin (*i.e.*, the fifteen decades of the Rosary) could never be lost. The people listened greedily

to this easy way of getting to heaven. . . . But at last . . . [some of] the very worst were especially addicted to the Rosary for no other reason than that they promised themselves impunity in everything. . . . While the matter was at the hottest, it happened that I arrived at Coventry on a visit to my sister. I had scarcely got off my horse when the question was proposed also to me, whether any one could be damned who should daily recite the Rosary? I laughed at the foolish question, but was at once warned that I was doing a dangerous thing; that a most holy and most learned Father had preached against those who did so." More propounded the true Catholic doctrine, but only succeeded in getting laughed at, whilst the friar was extolled.\*

The "Utopia" is More's most famous work, and as a key to his mind is well worth studying, but the mixture of banter, philosophy, and home truths will baffle the ordinary reader, whilst the ascetic works from which so many apt quotations are made will, with the intelligent editing that is promised, bid fair to become popular books of spiritual reading. These are "*Novissima*, a Remembrance of the Last Things," written during More's last days at Court, a "Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation," a treatise on the Passion, and other short prayers and meditations.

More's first-rate abilities, his friendship with the leading men of the day, his great legal capacity, but, above all, his own personal charm, drew the king's attention to him. After successfully discharging two foreign embassies, he finally took office at Court in 1518, and it was in Henry's service that he spent the best years of his life, till, in 1532, conscientious reasons made him withdraw from the Chancellorship. All his honours belong to this period, but though so highly favoured he was ever entirely free from worldliness. He never fell under that worst of captivities. He was not even so bound to his wife and children that he would not at any given time of his prosperity have sacrificed them for the greater love he bore to God. Yet, as far as his own account of himself goes, the flesh was more his special enemy than either the world or the devil; and his fear of becoming an unchaste priest made him humbly prefer the married life.

The romantic element is conspicuously absent from his wooing, if wooing it can be called. The story of both his marriages is simple enough, since he seems to have embraced the state rather than the person; and he contrived to marry the elder sister instead of the younger, whom he preferred. When Joan Colt became his first wife, "he considered that it would be both great grief and

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\* The whole incident should be read. See Father Bridgett's "Life," p. 98.



some shame to the eldest to see her younger sister preferred before her in marriage."\* Few could be so chivalrous with impunity.

The romance of his life was rather in his children and his friends. In his days London was not earth's "vastest," the best thing our poet-laureate can find to say about it. Chelsea was a quiet village, and in his home there Sir Thomas was able to practise friendship as he understood it. Erasmus says that he was frained for it, yet in this, too, he built up the spiritual man on his natural liking. When the time came for the solitary confinement at the Tower, and all earthly friendship failed him, he turned simply to friendship in its highest expression—communion with God. He said that his early aspirations were fulfilled in the grim Beauchamp Tower, where he could give himself to prayer without let or hindrance.

The detachment of the man is revealed through Holbein's picture, or rather through what it calls up. The Chelsea household, which it depicts, was an abode of peace. Hearts and minds were hard at work. Besides his beloved Meg, More had two other daughters, Elisabeth and Cecily. He had given them his own tastes, and thus raised them above ordinary girlhood. It is said they had, through Erasmus, an European reputation. Alice Middleton, Lady More's daughter by her first marriage, and Margaret Gigs, Sir Thomas's adopted daughter, belonged to this privileged circle; and then, not to speak of the sons-in-law, there was the only son of the house, John More, who, however, has done less than Meg's husband, Roper, to make his father known to us. Dame Alice's watchful eye was over all, and, although she was no heroine, she made an excellent mistress and stepmother, at times displeased with her husband's irrespressible generosity, but agreeing with him in the main. Yet so habitual was More's meditation on the vanity of earthly things, and especially on the Sacred Passion, that he readily made the sacrifice of this loved home. When on the April morning of 1534 he was summoned before the royal commissioners at Lambeth to take the new Oath of Supremacy, Roper noticed that he did not invite his wife and children to "have them bring him to his boat," and that even *his* joyousness seemed overcast. After he had sat silently for some time, he suddenly said to his son-in-law, "Son Roper, I thank our Lord the field is won." Roper answered, "Sir, I am therefore very glad," though he frankly owns that he did not understand the words at the time. "Afterwards," he says, "I conjectured it was for that the love he had to God wrought in him so effectually that he conquered all his carnal affection

utterly.”\* He never saw his Chelsea home again, but “the field was won.” He was beyond the king’s anger, and beyond human suffering.

He became Chancellor in 1529, as successor to Wolsey, being, we think, the first layman who held the great seal. It was in the beginning of sorrows—those sorrows which were the consequence to England of Henry’s steady degeneracy. Some have affected surprise that More could have accepted the position under the circumstances. He did it with his eyes open, though the freedom of refusal under a Tudor Sovereign was scarcely a subject’s prerogative. As soon as More found that he could no longer hold the post and be faithful to his conscience, he resigned honours and emoluments, a striking contrast to his predecessor who outlived them. More foretold every step of a nation’s decadence under a heartless tyrant. The Oath of Supremacy was in the air, but in 1531 it was called the title of Supreme Head of the Church in England, which the king was requiring from the clergy. When the divorce was pronounced by Cranmer, Sir Thomas said to Roper: “God grant, son, that these matters within a while be not confirmed with oaths.”† In 1532 he ceased to be Chancellor, and gained, instead of his brilliant position as second subject in the kingdom, comparative poverty, which inured him to what was to come later on, and time for meditation, or, as he expressed it, for preparation for death.

The Pope gave his final decision in favour of Queen Katherine in 1534. This put the man who took the Oath of Supremacy, erroneously called the Oath of Succession, into open opposition with the Holy Father. Sir Thomas More would have sworn to a simple Act of Succession, however much he might have regretted the change.‡ The Supremacy was quite another question. Because the Pope had decided against the divorce, therefore the king became Supreme Head of the Church of England, and renounced for himself and his subjects any higher spiritual authority than his own. This Act made the English martyrs, and one of the first two Blessed Thomas More. It contains the kernel of the whole controversy between Catholic and Anglican, for, even if history be falsified, and vice called virtue, the reasoning and the conscience of men so honoured and gifted as Fisher and More cannot be set aside. Whilst England was bending in abject subservience to the will of a tyrant, Europe was giving him indignation and execration. He was breaking the laws and the unity of Christendom for the sake of a passing passion. The consequences to England were an abiding heresy, a king becoming Pope by Act of Parliament; for it is a singular fact that men

\* P. 315.

† P. 351.

‡ His words are positive. See p. 353.

who object to the Pope of Rome will make a Pope of their own. A Pope of some kind there must be. England did but transfer her allegiance from Rome to London in a well-feigned horror of "meddling foreign priests." It was against this subversion of the moral law, a Parliament devising a new statute of Christian doctrine, that More protested by his death. From the guilty conscience of England he appealed to the conscience of Christendom. If he had been more alone even than he was, and the only man in England to withstand the new order and the breaking of continuity, he would still have gone to death. As it was, the specious objection of what every one else had done was duly urged upon him. Why could he not do what nearly every other bishop and layman in England had done? Because for "one bishop of the new opinion he had a hundred saints of his, and for one Parliament, and God knows of what kind, he had the General Councils for 1000 years, and for one kingdom he had France and all the kingdoms of Christendom."\*

So, on July 6, 1535, the Octave day of the great Apostles, and the eve of St. Thomas of Canterbury's translation, Sir Thomas More went joyfully to his ignominious death, and the homily written by St. Chrysostom before his last exile exactly expresses our martyr's mind: "No one is hurt except by himself."

Meg's love followed him out of the world, and shielded her father's remains from ultimate profanation. The body, which she laid to rest in the Tower, is now beyond the reach of man's honour or dishonour, so long at least as no one is sure of the spot finally chosen for burial. She survived her beloved father nine years, a proof, we think, that his martyrdom took the sting out of what would have been otherwise a most terrible catastrophe. She herself was buried at Chelsea, and not with the precious head which she had rescued from London Bridge.

Three centuries of troubles and penal laws were the consequences to our Catholic forefathers of England's fall. Never surely were martyrdoms more entirely without human consolations, and more perfect acts of faith. All was dark externally, whilst the light of the Catholic religion was kept steadily burning in a few devoted hearts by the heroic efforts of our missionary martyrs. Now that the honours of the altar have followed upon that long, and as it seemed hopeless agony of oblivion, it would appear that Divine Providence has some special design on the country for which they died. Is the long era of persecution a type of what is to come? Can our legislation ever again deal with penal laws, the torture-chamber, and a capital sentence full of brutality and agony? It will be said that our age is too

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\* P. 422.

enlightened. But we have not yet arrived at the final consequences of Luther's negations, so clearly foreseen by Blessed Thomas More. The next generation, and even we ourselves, may come in contact with a world which has banished God—inevitable consequence of dethroning the Pope. Even now, without being prophets, it is easy to see that the names not the forces in the field are gradually thinning, and that the Church and Infidelity are coming to a hand-to-hand fight. Who can predict what the arms of a godless mob shall be, or say that a revival of every penal restriction is not quite possible? One thing is certain. If Infidelity returns to a Star-chamber and to the rack, it will have no false martyrs. Anglicans will not be disturbed, still less Dissenters, but the descendants of Cardinal Fisher and Thomas More may be called upon to bear the great testimony of life or death. To a certain extent we can judge of the future from the past. Our Catholic forefathers had to deal with the weakening of the Pope's authority, whereas the world of to-day is putting out God's authority. May not the latter troubles be worse than the first?

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ART. IV.—BENEDICTINE GOVERNMENT FROM THE  
SIXTH TO THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

1. *Album Benedictinum*, nomina exhibens monachorum qui de Nigro Colore appellantur Ordinis S. S. P. N. Benedicti. Prodiit ex Typographæo S. Vincentii in Pennsylvania, 1880.
2. *Consuetudines Cluniacenses*. Auctore UDALRICO. Apud Migne in vol. cxlix. Patrologiæ Latine.
3. *Constitutiones Hirsaugienses*. S. GUILLELMI ABBATIS. Apud Migne in vol. cl. Patrologiæ Latine.

THE first of the works whose titles I have placed at the head of this article is a kind of census of the Benedictine Order, published by the monks of St. Vincent's Abbey in Pennsylvania in 1880, the centenary year of St. Benedict. Of the one hundred and ten monasteries of the Order, exclusive of nuns' monasteries, which are nearly three times as many, and of two hundred and forty houses not canonically erected but having the care of souls attached to them, nearly one hundred are grouped into twelve congregations, while a few monasteries, including one in Bavaria, one in Australia, and one in Scotland are independent of any congregation. Several among these congregations take their names from the country to which they belong, as the Anglo-Benedictine, the French, the Bavarian, and the Brazilian; others from their principal Abbey, as the Cassinese and Beuron congregations. Three of them, the Anglo-Benedictine, the Cassinese of the Primitive Observance, and that of Beuron, have houses in England. The Austrian monasteries are for the most part remarkable for their venerable antiquity, and the brief historical notices given in the *Album* of the Abbeys of Salzburg, Kremsmunster, Molk, &c., recall the palmiest days of Benedictine history, while the libraries of several among these ancient houses are rich in MSS. of priceless value. Only a summary account is given of the monasteries of the Benedictine nuns, which outnumber those of monks, as I said, in the proportion of nearly three to one.

Now, to any one who has read the history of the Order in its prime of vigorous life, its latest census suggests, at first thought, a state of more serious decline than is actually the case. The numbers given for each congregation would hardly have filled a single monastery in the early days of Cluny or St. Gall, of Corbie or Richenau, of Fulda or Gorze. But our desponding reflections

will be greatly modified by remarking, first, that the *Album Benedictinum* by no means professes to include all who profess the Rule of St. Benedict, but only the *Monachi Nigri*, or those who wear the black habit. No account is given of the white-robed Cistercian army, nor of Camaldolese, Silvestrines, Olivetans, &c., all of whom take their vows according to the Benedictine Rule. Still more cheering is it to note the steady increase in numbers, and the revival in discipline, that has gone on during the last half century, seeing that out of the twelve existing congregations seven have come into life within these fifty years. We are being borne along on the flowing tide, which we trust, with God's help will yet gain in strength, so that *et merito et numero in diebus nostris populus tibi serviens augeatur*, as Holy Church prays; and from 1880 to 1890 there has been a large increase. Then, once more, a careful reader of Benedictine history will not fail to remark how many of its most vigorous periods followed upon times when its prosperity had been at its lowest ebb, as in the days that immediately preceded St. Benedict of Anian, or the rise of Cluny, or, in England, in the dreary interval between St. Bede and St. Dunstan, or in Italy before Lodovico Barbo founded his congregation of St. Justina of Padua, which latter one changed its title to that of Monte Cassino. Now in each and every one of these instances, what filled the old Benedictine trunk with new sap and made it burst forth in all the greenness of a renewed spring was the principle expressed by Pius IX., in 1851, to Canon Marzolini, who had been sent to Rome as envoy from the Duke of Parma to negotiate the reinstatement of the Cassinese monks in the Monastery of St. John the Evangelist at Parma: "L'Ordine Benedittino com' è ridotto al presente non può durare. Un ritorno almeno parziale, all' antico è troppo necessario; altrimenti pena la vita."\* And surely the monastic order had never sunk lower than at the close of the eighteenth century.

On the first page of the *Album Benedictinum* we read, "Our most Holy Lord Pope Leo XIII., Abbot of Abbots, *Abbas Abbatum*." People often ask who is the General of the Benedictine Order? evidently imagining that the Order *has* a General, like the Franciscans, the Dominicans, or the Society of Jesus. Now the order of St. Benedict has never yet had any Superior-General save the Pope. The Holy Father could, of course, at any moment depute his authority to any one, but, as regards the *whole* Order, no Pope has yet done so. Each congregation has its own

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\* "The Benedictine Order cannot last in the state to which it is now reduced; we must have, *under pain of death*, at least a partial return to its ancient type."



Abbot-General, or President, or President-General, or Arch-Abbot, as the case may be, but his jurisdiction does not go beyond his own Congregation. And this leads me to the main subject which I have taken for my essay—to wit, how was the Benedictine Order governed in the first six centuries of its existence? As in my last article, on “Benedictine Usages,” I have determined to confine myself to the period that ends with Cîteaux and the beginning of the twelfth century. What does St. Benedict himself command on this head, and what is thereon the ancient tradition of his Order? To make matters clearer, we had better first consider the government of each individual monastery, and, secondly, the relations of each monastery to others.

St. Benedict's idea of government is simple and well defined, both as to the subject in whom authority dwells, and the extent of the same. The governing power resides in its fulness in the Abbot. He is to be elected by the votes of the brethren of the monastery from among themselves (Rule, ch. 64). Two things only are to be had in view in the election, learning and holiness of life, and even the last of the community is to be chosen should he excel in these. St. Benedict does not say in what manner he is to enter on his office, obviously supposing as too well known to need description the universal custom of monks in his time. Elsewhere (ch. 85) he alludes to “the Bishop and Abbots, who *ordain*” the Abbot. The hiatus is amply supplied from other sources. Even as now laid down in the *Pontificale Romanum*, abbots were blessed by a bishop, with the assistance of the neighbouring abbots. Thus St. Gregory the Great, writing to Urbicus, Abbot of St. Hermas, in Sicily, commands that Victor, the Bishop of Palermo, be asked to ordain the priest Domitius, who had been duly elected by the monks of Lucusium, and confirmed (it being a disputed election) by St. Gregory. “When thou shalt have received our written message,” says the Pope, “let thy charity invite our brother and fellow-bishop, Victor to the monastery of Lucusium, and let him there celebrate solemn Mass, and in the name of God (*Deo auctore*) ordain Abbot the aforesaid Domitius.” From the ancient *Regula Magistri* we learn the rite in use in such cases, which is as follows:

The election of the new Abbot made by the community was duly notified to the Bishop. The latter came to the monastery, wrote the name of the late deceased Abbot in the diptychs of the departed, and the name of the newly-elect in the diptychs of the living, and then celebrated Mass in the oratory. Mass over, he gave the kiss of peace to the new Abbot and the monks, who, followed by the Abbot and Bishop, walked from the oratory to the chapter-house. There the Bishop delivered into the Abbot's

hands the Rule, the cellarer's keys, and the inventory of the property of the Abbey. Next he exhorted the newly-elect to the observance of the Rule, led him to his place in the chapter-house, and placed a *mantle* (is this the Abbot's *melotes* spoken of by St. Gregory in his Dialogues, Book ii. ch. 7?) on his shoulders. The Abbot-elect kissed the Bishop's hand, and after prayers had been recited over him, took the Rule, and, returning with the monks to the oratory, placed it on the altar. Taking it again in his hands he intoned the verse, *Confirma hoc Deus, quod operatus es in nobis*. Prostrate on the ground he then asked the Bishop's prayers, received from him the kiss of peace, and gave it in his turn to each of his monks. The prelate then departed, and the brethren did homage to their new superior. From this we see how it is that St. Benedict prescribes that in case an unworthy abbot has been elected, "the bishop and neighbouring abbots" are not to allow the election to hold good, but are to put a worthy steward over the House of God. Since St. Benedict's time the exemption of monasteries from episcopal authority, their immediate subjection to the Holy See, and other enactments of canon law have altered in great part the original mode of electing and confirming Abbots in the Order of St. Benedict.

Once elected the Abbot held office for life, saving the case of deposition for misconduct or incapacity. In the earliest times it was not necessary for the Abbot to be in priest's orders, and, according to Mabillon, it is most probable that St. Benedict was only a deacon, while we have not infrequent examples of deacons or even sub-deacons, like Ingelard of Corbie, being elected Abbot. But as early as 826 the Council of Rome commands that none be elected Abbot unless raised to the dignity of the priesthood. Of course the concession of pontifical insignia is of a much later date.

From the manner and conditions of election come we now to the nature of the Abbot's authority. In St. Benedict's own words: "The whole ordering of the monastery rests with the Abbot," he alone (clxv.) names his second in authority and the officers of the community. The Prior is "reverently to do whatever his Abbot biddeth him to, and naught against his will or bidding." When the brethren are called to council all may speak to their mind, but the Abbot must do as he judges right, and all must acquiesce in his decision. The votes of the community are consultative only. Since St. Benedict's time the wisdom of the Holy See has in a certain fixed number of cases given the monks in chapter a deliberative vote. Yet St. Benedict places effective checks on abuse of authority. First the Abbot is commanded to do nothing without taking counsel, in ordinary

cases with the seniors only, in more important ones with the whole community (ch. iii.). But there is something more important. In the most emphatic language, all, Abbot and monks alike, are warned: "In *all* things let *all* look on THE RULE as their mistress, and let none dare rashly to swerve from it." And in the chapter on the election of the Abbot (clxiv.), after a long series of admonitions, he is told that "above all" he must in *all* things observe this Rule. There is far more than appears at first sight in the stress thus laid on the observance of a written Rule. It is in some sense the key to the immense ascendancy the Benedictine Order obtained at one time in Europe, and its supplanting of other institutes. Nothing is stranger to our ideas of religious life than the ease with which monks in the early ages of the Church seem to pass almost at will from one monastery or institute to another, as we so often read in the lives of the Fathers of the Desert. But when St. Benedict established a form of profession, wherein monks vowed before the altar not only a life of holiness, but stability and obedience according to a fixed written code (ch. lviii.), the monastic order acquired a new element of strength and stability. Henceforward monks from other institutes could become Benedictines, but a Benedictine could not change, except to embrace a more austere life (ch. lx. lxi.).

To sum up: the Abbot's authority, if it is a pure or absolute monarchy, because his decisions are not subject to the votes of his brethren, yet is not despotic, fettered as it is by the seventy-three chapters of the Rule, and the strict injunctions laid upon him to make himself more loved than feared, not to be violent or restless, not to be exacting nor obstinate, not zealous nor suspicious, and so to attemper everything that the strong may have something to strive after and the weak not be driven back. The limits by which his authority is hedged in are thus forcibly set down by St. Bernard (*De Præcepto et Dispensatione*, c. iv. v.)

"The commands or prohibitions of my Superior cannot go beyond the terms of my profession. He may neither forbid me to do what I have promised, nor exact more than I have promised. At a monk's profession he promises obedience, not unlimited, but precisely according to the Rule, and according to no other rule than that of St. Benedict, . . . and not according to the will of the Superior. Should my Abbot wish to impose on me anything according to the rule of St. Basil, St. Augustine, or St. Pachomius, what obligation have I to obey him?"

A celebrated instance of an Abbot deposed for exceeding the limits of his authority is that of Abbot Ratgar of Fulda, in 811. The twenty heads of complaint against him are extremely interest-

ing, as showing the ancient usages of the Order, many of the charges brought against Ratgar being grounded on his neglect of established customs. The brethren complain that the priests of the monastery are not allowed to say Mass "as often as heretofore; that the Abbot has abolished the recital of prayers for the dead and for the benefactors of the Abbey, which their fathers had added over and above the divine office; that on Feasts, such as those of SS. Stephen and Lawrence, and of the Saints most in veneration in Germany, they are not allowed to rest from manual labour and pass the day in the divine office and reading; and they request that the ancient custom of eating the bread blessed at the offertory of the Mass (*eulogia*) before taking their daily refectio be resumed; that their food and clothing be such as Abbot Sturm had introduced with St. Boniface's approval according to the usages of Monte Cassino; that manual labour be not so far increased by the erection of vast and useless buildings as to leave less than the time appointed by the rule for reading," and finally that "as we have been used to find all our Abbots hitherto . . . so that our present Abbot likewise may be kindly to the infirm, gentle to such as go astray, a consoler of the sorrowing, a helper to us in our toil, affable to his brethren, strengthening the weary, upholding the faint-hearted, raising up those that have fallen, &c." Ratgar turned out incorrigible and was deposed. To conclude, the Abbot's authority was monarchical; absolute, but not despotic; tempered by democracy in the fact that even the last of the community was eligible to office, and by a quasi-aristocracy, because he was obliged by the rule to name his assistants, such as the novice-master, the cellarman, the deans, &c., of whom we would speak in detail, if our space allowed. The obedience of his disciples, though limited by the Rule, yet often reached the heroic. St. Benedict exhorts them to obey even in impossible things, and God wrought miracles in favour of such as carried out the holy legislator's counsel to the letter.

So far we have dealt with the government of an individual monastery. Now we come to what I wish to make the principal subject of this essay. In what relation do monasteries of the Order stand to one another? Has the authority of the Abbot, either by the rule itself, or by the traditions of the Order, come to be limited by a superior control within the Order itself?

Now, as regards the Rule of St. Benedict, it is plain that the Saint contemplates its adoption in many distant countries. He expressly states that what he regulates as to the monk's clothing is only to hold good in temperate climates; in cold countries men will need more and are to have it. In his own life-time he had founded, by means of his disciples, monasteries as far apart as

Palermo and the banks of the Loire. Fourteen monasteries he is known to have founded himself, yet nowhere in his Rule does he say anything about the monasteries which should adopt his Rule being bound together by any other bond than the Rule itself, and in case circumstances should render interference from outside needful, he simply refers to the Bishop of the diocese and the neighbouring Abbots as the right people to appeal to, following therein the usage of his time. From all this it is evident that monasteries could be grouped together for mutual help without detriment to the Rule, and the annals of our first six centuries show how early some such arrangement was found beneficial, and even in many cases necessary. Visitors to the vale of Subiaco must have noted the picturesque remains of the twelve monasteries founded within a few miles along the course of the river, the noble ruins of "S. Girolamo," perched on a bold point of rock, and "S. Giovanni dell' Aqua," recalling one of the miracles recorded by St. Gregory, when the Saint, like another Moses, drew from the rock the stream that still flows on; and the monastery called after Blessed Lawrence, the hermit, who, in the thirteenth century, was visited there by Cardinal Ugolino, afterwards Gregory IX., and whose body rests in *Sagro Speco*, of which monastery Père Muard wrote: "Imagine to yourself a perpendicular rock, a hundred and fifty feet high, with enormous buttresses, projecting in several parts, and below the rock an abyss from eight to nine hundred feet deep, at the bottom of which a rapid torrent rushes along. It is below the rock and above the precipice that our hermitage is situated, so that it seems to cling to the face of the cliffs like a lark's nest ("Life of R. P. Muard," by E. Healy Thompson).

Ruins or chapels mark the site of other monasteries. How they came to be built we are told by St. Gregory. When St. Benedict's disciples numbered about 150, he divided them into twelve communities, each with its own abbot. He himself named the abbots in this first instance, and from the tenor of the narrative it would seem, as was only natural, that he retained the general direction of the twelve houses. This was the earliest type of a monastic congregation of monasteries, about which we know little, though St. Benedict's own language would lead us to conclude that the exercise of his authority would tend to consolidate and not to weaken the authority of each superior in his own monastery. Little more do we know of the small Sicilian congregation of six monasteries founded by St. Gregory the Great. They had for their abbot-general the Abbot of St. Hermas, but from the scanty notices that remain to us the interior government of each house would seem to have been left as decreed by St. Benedict in his Rule, and no abuse is denounced

therein by the Saint with greater vehemence than the custom of having the prior under the abbot appointed by any one but the abbot himself. We see that in the Sicilian monasteries each community elected its own abbot from its own members, and St. Gregory cancels the nomination of a monk because he had been taken from another monastery. During the next two hundred years we meet from time to time with examples such as that of St. Bennet Biscop, with his monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, or St. Wilfrid governing his foundations at Hexham and Ripon. Most noteworthy is the fact that Monte Cassino claimed and exercised authority over the Abbey of Glanfeuil, founded by St. Maurus, a right confirmed by Urban II. in a Bull directed to Cardinal Oderisius, Abbot of Monte Cassino, A.D. mxcvii., after the question had been investigated in a Council held at Tours, wherein the Abbot of Glanfeuil is said to hold his office *salva obedientia Ecclesiæ Matris Cassinensis*.

Notwithstanding these examples, the first three centuries of the Order are distinguished as the age of independent monasteries. Illustrious for their long line of saints and apostles, they were, indeed, too apt to collapse if an unworthy abbot was intruded, or the country was disturbed by warfare, without easily recovering their former vigour. But the monastic institute in the West was then at the period of its most vigorous youth, and monasteries studded the land thickly, the rapidly luxuriant growth of the Order being only rivalled by the noiselessness and silence of its spreading. It was the age of countless saints, of the conversion to the faith of the Teutonic race, rich in monastic tradition and picturesque legend. One common bond of unity united the far-spreading multitude of houses in the Benedictine family—the Holy Rule. And when decay began, it was met by the binding together of monasteries into congregations, and each and every one of such congregations for the next five hundred years had but one object—to restore and safeguard the observance of the Rule. It would be impossible even to pass in review the great foundations of this age; it would be far beyond our limits. Their very names call up a host of holy memories, chequered with shadows, which it would be folly and injustice to ignore. There was the great abbey on the banks of the Fulda, wherein St. Sturm had established the usages of Monte Cassino, and ruled over four hundred monks, an abbey that became a seminary of Bishops of Mayence. Did our purpose allow a description of the early cruciform basilica of the Monastery of Fulda, with its numerous altars and its "subterranean church," or crypt, built in a circular form, and supported by arches springing from one massive column in the centre, it would doubtless be of deep antiquarian interest. This crypt was both a chapel and



a place of burial. In the time of the holy Abbot Eigil, whose gentleness would never allow him to do anything without the consent of his monks, while they all strove with angelic harmony of brotherly love who should be the foremost in obedience, the new cloister of Fulda was built. The Abbot asked advice in chapter where it should be placed, and while some advised that it should be to the south of the church (its usual site), others thought it would be better to have it "after the Roman manner"—*Romano more*—to the west, that the monks might thus be nearer to the body of St. Boniface, which reposed in a crypt at the western end of the church. A colony from Fulda peopled the noble Abbey of Hirschau, destined in a later age to be the parent-house of many illustrious monasteries. Then there was the sister abbey of Heidenheim, with its neighbouring colony of English nuns from Wimborne. And Corbie, too, where a community of 350 monks, and besides these five other classes of inmates, made up the vast community—to wit, clerics; scholars; forty-two servants employed within the abbey, as goldsmiths, parchment manufacturers, bricklayers, carpenters, farriers, and physicians; 152 vassals, employed on the mills, fishponds, orchards, &c., and the guests. The monks lived on fish and vegetables; strict silence was observed in all the offices out of case of necessity, and at their work the monks continually recited the Psalms to themselves. It would be hard to over-rate the advantages of monasteries like these in half-civilised countries, with their schools thronged with thousands of pupils. The fame of Corbie was eclipsed by its filiation in Saxony, called New Corbie, or Corbei. Among the scholars at Old Corbie was a little boy named Ansker (*Anscharius*), who had lost his mother in infancy. The abbey became his home, and under the holy Abbot St. Adelard he grew up in the cloister. In early childhood he saw in vision the Mother of God, and with her his own dear mother, and throughout his life the love of Mary was his one passion. A little schoolfellow, Fulbert, was accidentally killed by a blow from the *tabula* of one of his companions in some boyish quarrel or frolic, and after death appeared to Ansker, who was bewailing the loss of his little companion, and told him he had earned a place among the martyrs, because he had borne his death-wound patiently, and lovingly forgiven the companion at whose hand he met his death. Ever after Ansker burned with a longing to be a martyr. He was destined to the long martyrdom of a toilsome apostleship. From New Corbie he went out to the Danes and Swedes, and his work bore most noble fruit for eight centuries, till the withering blast of Lutheranism laid waste the land of his love and adoption.

But we must not linger, much as we are tempted to do so, on

the entrancing history of these early foundations. Already in the eighth century a number of servants of God dwelt in the caves of the wild and savage region that surrounds the sources of the Alb, and many perished in the long and bitter winters, till at last they agreed to build a monastery and live in common where the Steinbach flows into the Alb, a foundation which afterwards grew into the world-famed Abbey of St. Blaise in the Black Forest. All along the course of the Rhine great historical monasteries arose, while, eastward from St. Blaise, the noble Abbey of Reichenau, *Augia dives*, within the Rhine-girt isle, had linked itself in one community of prayer with the monks of St. Gall, and had already begun, a century before St. Odilo, the pious usage that the Church has since adopted of keeping All Souls' Day. The most complete and detailed specimen of ancient monastic architecture left on record is the descriptive plan of the ancient monastery of St. Gall, giving more the idea of a monastic city than of a monastery. North and south of the Danube, and in the country watered by the Neckar and the Iller, monasteries were thickly studded and peopled almost to excess by the children of the generous Swabian race who sought to serve God in the Benedictine cloister.

Such were the first ages of the monastic order, when abbeys had little else but monastic charity and the faithful observance of the Holy Rule to link them together. Doubtless scandals and dissensions would be found at times within their walls, but whatever there may have been of human frailty was immeasurably outweighed by the abundant fruits of monastic holiness that light up this page of the Church's history. It is strange that Longfellow in his "Golden Legend" should have chosen to pervert into a tale of nightly debauchery within monastic walls a quaint old story from the chronicle of St. Gall. It does not perhaps represent the Abbey at the height of its fervour, it is true, but it shows what trifles really were the facts that the depraved Protestant appetite for scandal has seized and distorted. It runs simply as follows in the old chronicle:

"Notker, Tutilo, and Ratpert were among the most ardent lovers of study in the Abbey, and were allowed by the Abbot to help one another in their studies in the time that elapsed between Matins and Prime, when they met in the Scriptorium. A cross-grained refectorian, Sindulph, had a grudge against the three, and would do his best to excite the Abbot against them. One morning, as they were at their usual work, Tutilo saw Sindulph furtively watching them at the open window, no doubt hoping to find something to complain of to the Abbot. Speaking Latin, so that Sindulph could not understand him, he quietly prevailed on Notker, who was too gentle and spiritual to enter into the

joke, to go to the Church ; then warned Ratpert to take a whip that hung on the wall. Suddenly turning round, he seized the unwary Sindulph by the wrists, and held him fast while Ratpert laid on with the whip. The cries of the unhappy Sindulph brought the brethren to the rescue : of course the three students were elsewhere. The Abbot was absent at the time, and on his return Sindulph received ample amends."

Compare this laughable fact, so innocently told by the old chronicler, with Longfellow's scene of midnight revelry, purposely drawn up to suit the Protestant craving for scandal.

A new era was approaching. At the close of the eighth century many of the Frankish monasteries had fallen into decay, and the need of a common centre of authority for several houses began to make itself urgently felt. This was not so much to save the monasteries from temporal ruin as to maintain intact what was their breath of life, the observance of the Holy Rule. A great work was at hand, a vigorous revival, to be followed within another hundred years by a far greater one. Of the former I shall speak very briefly, of the second more at length. St. Benedict of Anian is the author of the first, as St. Oddo of Cluny of the latter. Each in his own degree drew more closely the scattered members of the Benedictine family, but the second in particular introduced, if I may so speak, a problem into the government of the Order which is not yet full solved.

Few, if any, among the many thousands of St. Benedict's children bore in themselves a more faithful image of the great patriarch than St. Benedict of Anian, so lovingly styled *alter Benedictus* in the annals of our Order. Born in Languedoc, he was the son of Aigulph Count of Maguellonne. This town was in those days an episcopal see, transferred in 1536 to Montpellier, and Maguellonne is only known now for its vast salt lake. The Count of Maguellonne sent his son to Pepin's Court, where he became the Queen's favourite page and cupbearer. At Court he remained under Charles the Great, though his heart and affections were being daily more and more weaned from the world and fixed on the cloister. Unknown to his parents he retired to the Abbey of St. Seine in the diocese of Langres. There his heroic austerities, carried to excess, injured his health, while he succeeded at first so well in his endeavours to make himself the most despised in the house that some unworthy monks would deride and ill-use him. Meanwhile his soul was flooded with spiritual sweetness and light, and soon he began to possess the gentle and persuasive power of exhorting to penance and holiness that never forsook him in life. Warned by his abbot, he recognised that he had exceeded the austerity of the Rule, and from that time conceived in his heart that ardent and impassioned devotion to the Rule of

St. Benedict, which at all times has marked out such as were destined to great things in the monastic order. He learned it by heart, and it became the one great study of his life and his spiritual nourishment. He was first appointed cellarer of the monastery, and on the Abbot's death was chosen to succeed him, but, dissatisfied with the want of fervour in the community, he left St. Seine and returned to Languedoc in 780. On the banks of a little stream called the Anian, close to the Hérault, at about one-third of its course between its rise in the Cevennes and its outflow into the Mediterranean, he built a hermitage, which soon grew into a monastery. And now we meet with a phenomenon in his monastic career which has been renewed in many Benedictine Saints. In this his first monastery he not only insisted on the greatest poverty in food and clothing, which is the most invariable characteristic of monastic saints, but even the buildings of the monastery and the church he willed should be shorn of all beauty or richness, even in what concerned divine worship. His monastery was rudely built and thatched; even in the church, which was dedicated to Our Blessed Lady, he would not allow the sacred vestments to be of silk, nor the vessels of the altar to be of silver, using instead chalices of glass or tin or even of wood. Such has not been the tradition of the Order; our canonised saints have, by divine inspiration, as the Church tells us in the Office of St. Victor III., ever loved the beauty of the House of God, raising the hearts of monks to the heavenly city, nor have they deemed the loveliness of His House incompatible with the most austere poverty in food and raiment. By light from above the Saint understood this, and two years later built another monastery and church. The roof was no longer thatched, but tiled; a stately cloister was surrounded with marble columns; silver chalices took the place of tin ones; seven splendidly wrought candelabra, whose slender shafts ended in globes surmounted by lilies of marvellous workmanship, shed their light through the church. Seven lamps exquisitely fashioned hung before the altar, and seven coronas, or circular lamps, lit up the choir on great festivals. Precious vestments, the gift of noble Franks, enriched the Sanctuary. The high altar was divided into three *aræ*, or lesser altars, and was hollow within, so that by a door in the back of it could be inserted precious shrines filled with relics; in a golden casket was enclosed a portion of the true cross, and in another, of the same precious metal, a thorn from the crown of our Blessed Lord. There were three other altars in the same church, one in honour of St. Michael, another of SS. Peter and Paul, and a third of St. Stephen.

Neither in this church nor in that of our Blessed Lady were women allowed to enter. Two oratories were built for them,

adjoining the monastery. A vast monastery it was, capable of holding a thousand monks, and very soon could no longer contain the crowd of disciples, who were sent out to found other monasteries. All were enkindled with monastic fervour, each trying to excel in obedience and charity, in fasting and watching. The Holy Abbot spent lavishly the wealth of the abbey in the purchase of books. At morning in chapter the daily reading was a collection of monastic rules, arranged as a commentary on that of St. Benedict, whom he rightly judged to have gathered into one the ancient monastic traditions of the Church, while the reading before Compline was from a collection of homilies from the Fathers of the Church. Classes of grammar—*i.e.*, classic letters—and Holy Scripture had their allotted hours in the day. For all this, the Saint and his disciples gave all the time that could be spared from study to manual labour, and the Abbot was to be seen himself guiding the plough and gathering in the harvest under the burning sun of Languedoc. Besides the perpetual abstinence from meat commanded in the Rule, he drank nothing but water, except on two days in the week, although, following the indulgence allowed by St. Benedict, he allowed wine to his monks. The monks of St. Benedict of Anian wore a white tunic, with a black cowl and scapular.

Very soon his family spread beyond the limits of his native province. Twelve monasteries were founded by his own disciples, over which he retained authority during his lifetime. Many of the neighbouring abbots submitted themselves to his rule in Provence, Languedoc and Gascony. Thus for the first time we have an example of a large and widespread Congregation, wherein the abbots themselves are subject to an Abbot of higher authority. It is clear, however, that he exercised a much fuller authority over the abbeys founded from Anian than over the others. Louis the Pious, then King of Aquitaine, charged him with the reform of all the monasteries in his states. Having succeeded his father, Charles the Great, on the Imperial throne, all the monasteries of the Empire throughout France, and beyond the Rhine as far as Bavaria and Swabia, were formed into one vast Congregation, with St. Benedict at its head, for restoring the observance to full vigour and enforcing uniformity in monastic discipline. One remarkable feature in this reform was the appointment of visitors, who should at fixed times visit the monasteries, with power to supersede the authority of the local abbot, if needed, for the maintenance of monastic rule. The basis of the revival was simply the text of the Rule, with the addition of the special statutes made in the great Synod of Aix-la-Chapelle in 817, of which St. Benedict of Anian was the leading spirit.

The principal of these were: that all monks should learn by

heart the Rule of St. Benedict ; that the Divine Office should be recited according to the Rule, and not according to the Roman rite, saving (according to Hildemar) the three days before Easter, both parts of this decree being in force at the present day throughout the Order ; that monks should work in the kitchen, bake-house, and other offices, and when needed at harvest, according to the Benedictine rule ; that the Abbot should in food, clothing, &c., fare no better than his monks ; that henceforward (derogating from the Rule) he should always eat with the monks, and not with the guests ; that the schools for lay boys should be outside the monastery ; that the tenth part of the monastic income be given to the poor, besides several regulations for a milder treatment of delinquents than had grown up to be the practice, ordering them not to fast on Sundays, and to have fire and convenient rooms, &c. ; that the daily food in all monasteries be, except in Lent, &c., cooked with lard or fat ; that where wine cannot be procured a doublemeasure of good beer (*duplicem mensuram de bona cerevisia*) is to take its place. Lastly, the Council avails itself of the permission granted by the Rule of allowing warmer clothing in colder countries than Italy, and accordingly grants each monk, in addition to the regular habits, two flannel undertunics, two pairs of drawers, gloves or mittens for winter, and in the last place soap and grease (for shoes) as much as is needful. People may smile, but the Fathers of Aix-la-Chapelle evidently held that regulations were nothing if not practical.

Such was the great reform of the second St. Benedict. Its effects were immense, and, by recalling monks to the Rule, it breathed new life into the Order. But evil days were at hand, and the destructive wars and incursions of the Northmen towards the close of the ninth century laid waste many of the most flourishing centres of the monastic Order. A still greater and far more durable work was begun within about a century from the death of St. Benedict of Anian, and the Cluniac discipline stands out as the most widely extended development of the Benedictine Rule that the Order has seen since its commencement. Even as SS. Robert, Alberic, and Stephen were eclipsed by St. Bernard, so the memory of the first founder of the Abbey of Cluny has been cast into the shade by the glory of his successors. It has its humble beginnings under St. Berno, who obtained a grant of land from Duke William of Aquitaine, and began monastic life there with twelve monks, A.D. 910. Among the causes that raised the Abbots of Cluny well nigh to the rank of sovereign princes, and gave them an influence hitherto without example in the Church, we must reckon the heroic sanctity and regal virtues of the first Abbots. By a singular and providential coincidence they had each a reign of extraordinary duration. For forty years



St. Majolus swayed the abbatial crozier. St. Odilo succeeded him, governing for fifty-six years. The next Abbot, St. Hugh, ruled for full sixty years. But, above all, the Cluniacs owed their immense power to their fervour tempered with wise discretion in the observance of the Rule of St. Benedict. As late as the year 1063, over a century and a half from the foundation of Cluny, the austere St. Peter Damian visited the Abbey, then ruled over by St. Hugh. The sight of that noble community excited his enthusiastic admiration. "I have seen Paradise," he writes, "watered by the streams of the four Gospels, or rather by overflowing rivers of celestial virtues. I have seen a garden of delights wherein God's graces flourish like lilies and roses, replete with fragrant perfumes, so that Almighty God could in very truth say thereof: 'Behold the odour of My Son is as the fragrance of a field blessed by the Lord.' What else is the Monastery of Cluny but God's own field, wherein the choir of monks dwelling together in charity is like a harvest of celestial wheat?" Even St. Bernard, despite the severity with which he inveighed against the abuses that had grown up among Cluniacs, acknowledges that the Order was still holy and venerable, wise and discreet, and well suited to save souls. But it cannot be denied that a change had come over the Order of Cluny as far back as half a century before St. Bernard's time. The almost perpetual silence of St. Oddo's rule had given place to daily conversations. The coarse garb, suited to men whose days were partly spent in manual labour, would hardly have pleased their successors of two hundred years later. The long fasts of one meal in twenty-four hours for half the year, the solicitude at the Divine Office, the prolonged night watches had made the early Cluniacs renowned throughout the world. The haughty and ambitious Abbot Pontius, who was wont to call himself "Abbot of Abbots," broke down the wall of monastic discipline. A vigorous attempt to recall things to their ancient type was made with partial success in the General Chapter numbering one thousand two hundred members, at which Orderic Vitalis assisted Peter the Venerable. With this illustrious Abbot the brightness of the star of Cluny begins steadily to wane, just as the white-robed Cistercians are reaching the zenith of their splendour.

Cluny deserves our most attentive consideration, not only because its customs and discipline are, at this day, in a greater or less degree the model of a very large part of the Order of St. Benedict, but on account of its principles of government, the main subject I have in view at present. At a very early period the Abbey began to affiliate houses to itself. These affiliated monasteries were of three kinds. Some of them simply adopted the admirable and well-digested discipline of Cluny, often with

modifications of their own, without acknowledging any subjection to the authority of that Abbey. Such were the great Abbeys of St. Paul's at Rome, of Fleury, of Farfa, Hirschau, &c.; and it was from Fleury, reformed, according to Cluniac usage, by St. Oddo, that St. Dunstan, with the help of St. Ethelwold and Oswald, derived the usages he incorporated into King Edgar's celebrated decree for the English monasteries, which awoke the Order in our island from its long slumber, and to which movement the ancient monastery in which these pages are written owes its origin. Secondly, came the abbeys which sought incorporation with the Cluniac congregation, retaining their own abbots, though subject to the correction and jurisdiction of the Abbot of Cluny. Towards the close of the Cluniac career of prosperity those incorporations, which, in early times, had been eagerly sought after, were often affected by coercion and intrigue, and the abbeys were not infrequently, as Mabillon remarks, deprived of their dignity and reduced to priories. Lastly came the foundations made by the monks of Cluny themselves. These were simple priories, though often exceeding many abbeys in number of monks and in importance. According to the Cluniac idea the only Abbot in the order was he of Cluny, the other Superiors of houses were all his vicars and priors. General chapters and visitations, from which Cluny itself was not exempt, bound the Order together in unity, and under St. Hugh's government the Cluniacs numbered some ten thousand subjects. They were, *par excellence*, called the Black Monks, and they gave to the habit the form that is most prevalent at this day. Cluniac priories were founded in England immediately after the Conquest, and amongst the principal were those at Lewes, Bermondsey, Northampton, Pontefract, Montague, Exeter, Barnstaple, St. Helen's in the Isle of Wight, Wenlock, Dudley, &c., besides the hospices of Cripplegate, Aldgate, and Holborn in London.

From the very first, however, we find many great and holy men, who, while adopting the discipline of Cluny, and even the authority of one Abbot over several houses, yet wished to preserve in the several local superiors the dignity and title of Abbot. As we confine ourselves to the period before the twelfth century, we shall give an illustrious example, singularly enough in the saint to whom we owe it that the *Consuetudines Cluniacenses* were ever committed to writing, St. William of Hirschau. A brief survey of his work will be the fittest conclusion to our remarks on Benedictine government during the first six centuries of our history. St. William, a Bavarian by birth, had made his profession in the monastery of St. Emmeram, wherein he had been offered up to God from his childhood. His proficiency in mathematical and astronomical studies, and his ardent love for

sacred music, on which he has left a useful treatise, were the prelude of that zeal for studies which he afterwards impressed on his disciples, and which lasted for centuries in the monasteries he founded. In the year 1069 he was invited to assume the government of the Abbey of Hirschau. That ancient abbey, situate on the Nagold in the portion of the Schwarzwald which is now included in the kingdom of Wurtemberg, had been founded in 830 by the Counts of Caln, though a church had been built there nearly two centuries before by Countess Helizena. Like our monastery of Buckfast, Hirschau (the meadow of the stag) took its name from the herds of deer that frequented the country. When St. William was called to undertake the government it was reduced to the last extremity by the vexatious tyranny of Count Adalbert of Caln. St. William found that his predecessor had been unjustly expelled by the Count, for which reason he refused to be ordained Abbot till the death of Abbot Frederic. But he at once set vigorously to work to establish the independence of his monastery from lay control, and obtained its confirmation from Pope and Emperor, his final victory being won when the haughty Swabian Count came himself to seek at his hands the habit of religion, in which he, during a long and holy life, edified by his humility the brethren of the monastery he had formerly oppressed.

It would be hard to find in our annals a truer Benedictine than St. William of Hirschau, and almost as soon as he began his government his abbey came to be peopled by 150 monks. Unwilling to exceed that number he began to send out colonies, and before his death had founded twenty-two monasteries, and reformed about eighty more. Over the greater part of these founded by himself he appointed Abbots, who, although perpetual in their office, were yet subject to the Abbot of Hirschau. In a few instances where the limited possessions of a monastery did not allow of a large number of monks, he created priories, most of which afterwards grew into abbeys.

He was among the first to avail himself of the services of lay brothers. Though in early times a large number of monks lived and died without being ordained priests, yet all were, as we should nowadays say, choir-monks, and of the same grade except in so far as seniority or the actual possession of holy orders distinguished them. St. John Gualbert, about 1041, at Vallombrosa first introduced brothers of the Order not bound to the recital of the Divine Office and devoted to exterior employments, an institution that has since received its greatest development among Cistercians. St. William was the first to introduce them into Germany. There they were known as the *fratres barbati*, the "bearded brethren," though nowadays usually called *conversi*, a name formerly given

to all such as had not been received into the monastery in childhood.

Among the most illustrious abbeys founded by St. William we must number Zwifalten—in Latin *Ad duplexes Aquas*—where the waters of the two branches of the Aach meet, long renowned for learning, and suppressed at the beginning of this century. In 1812 the buildings were turned into a State lunatic asylum. Among those reformed by the Saint were Schaffhausen, Wiblingen, Weingarten, St. Blaise in the Black Forest, Ottenbeuren, Benediktbeuren, Oxenhausen, Salzburg, Heidenheim, &c. His work was a lasting one, and the discipline of Hirschau prevailed throughout German monasteries till the rise of the Bursfeld congregation. Except in the form of government, the constitutions of Hirschau are simply the customs of Cluny, saving such usages as had from the days of St. Boniface been among the monastic traditions of Germany.

St. William had been advised by Abbot Bernard of Marseilles, legate of the Apostolic See in Germany, to have recourse to Cluny, if he would complete his work by the most perfect and venerable usages of the Monastic Order. It chanced that Udalric of Cluny stayed some time at Hirschau, and was prevailed upon by St. William to commit to writing the customs of his monastery, then flourishing under St. Hugh. Not content with this, St. William sent six of his monks to Cluny to study there on the spot, and then drew up his own *Constitutiones Hirschaugienses*, which, not only in Swabia, but in Alsace and Bavaria, bore copious and lasting fruit. In this he was much aided by the simple piety and singular suitableness for Benedictine life of the Swabian race, among whom his communities were formed, and his own personal character is one of the most beautiful recorded in the lives of the saints. His lofty stature, the majestic beauty of his countenance, his learning and persuasive eloquence were even surpassed by his gentleness and kindness of heart. One bitterly cold day in winter, when the snow lay thick on the ground, the gentle Abbot sent for his Prior, and, with a tone of sadness in his voice, said: "The little birds are all dying with cold and hunger; take a few bushels of oats, and scatter them about the hedges, that they may get something to eat." "Father Abbot," said the Prior, "we have no oats left." "Then have you any barley or wheat in the house," said the Abbot. "I have," was the answer. "Then sell it, and buy some bushels of oats," rejoined the Abbot. The Prior told the cellarer to do so next morning; but, says the chronicler, a thaw came on during the night. Needless to say that he was ever the "Father of the Poor." A few words from his dying speech to his brethren will give us a good idea of a true child of St. Benedict. A week

before his death he spoke for the last time to his brethren in Chapter. All that he had told them during his years of office, he reminded them of in this his last and most fervid discourse, laying stress above all on the fervour they should have in observing the Rule, on brotherly love, on hospitality and almsgiving, and then added :

One thing has often saddened and weighed me down, and now I will declare it before God and you. Some among you there have been, who lived according to the prudence of the flesh, and not with holy simplicity, and they would often wear me out with their worldly discourses and counsel, but, thanks to God, Who has one by one cut them off from us, and sent them away from the cloister. I shall no more henceforth hold Chapter with you ; so my little children, take heed to your Abbot's last words, and never forget what you have seen and heard.

Then they took him back to his poor cell, and there he saw and embraced them one by one. He died in the presence of the Bishops of Spire and Constance and of the Abbot of Zwifalten and four other abbots, and of his assembled children. His last words were : " I call God to witness that unto this last moment I have always dealt with you faithfully and kindly."

Neither our space nor our scope allow us to go at any length into an account of the celebrated customs of Cluny. They are divided into three books, whereof the first is mainly liturgical. The second is entitled *de disciplina regulari*. The third, *pro singulis obedientiis*, is the most interesting. It deals with the several offices in the monastery. After the Abbot we have the first prior, and his substitute, the *claustral* prior. Then there are the *circatores* or monitors, the cellarer, and the *camerarius*, or out-door procurator. The boys and their masters form the subject of a long chapter, ending with the well-known saying, " No king's son could be educated with more care in the palace than the least of the boys at Cluny." Next comes the official who is styled precentor and librarian, then the sacristan, the keeper of the wine-cellar, the gardener, the refectorian, and the guest-master. The master of the stables is ordered to be careful in seeing that the guests' horses are well shod before they leave the Abbey, and is warned to have everything in readiness, and a hammer hanging by a chain at the stable gate. Next comes the almoner, whose office was a most onerous one. In addition to his official duties, he is commanded to see that the pavement in the church and cloister be kept covered with rushes. The infirmarian and his assistants come last, and it is characteristic of the quaint minuteness of Udalric that it is decreed that for the service of bringing in wood for the infirmary " only the best donkey " in the

establishment is to be put into requisition. St. William's customs are considerably altered from those of Cluny. He allots no less than twenty chapters to the manual signs in use both at Cluny and Hirschau to avoid speaking, and the minute description of these signs gives us ample information of the least details of the monk's life in those days. The variety of fish used at table is considerable, and I find special manual signs for sturgeon, salmon, trout, carp, herring, mullet, &c. Roots and vegetables form a still more varied collection. But nothing approaches the minute and reverent detail with which in both these great abbeys even the smallest things are regulated that concern divine worship and the service of the altar. Therein lay the one deep secret of the overflowing happiness of the peaceful cloister, the ceaseless union of hearts and voices in one unending sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving in the courts of the House of God.

DOM ADAM HAMILTON, O.S.B.

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# ART. V.—PROGRESS OF THE PERSECUTION UNDER ELIZABETH.

**A**LTHOUGH during Mary's life Elizabeth had, with many oaths, declared herself to be a Catholic, it was an open secret that she sympathised with that party in religion and politics which "brook'd no fatherly counsel that should come from Rome." Her instincts, in spite of her oaths, prompted her to throw in her lot with the Reformers; all her interests were bound up with the new doctrines, and from the moment of her accession, fears were entertained for the safety of the Catholic cause. De Feria, Philip's Ambassador Extraordinary, was received by the members of the assembled Council, as he afterwards wrote to the King, "like a man who came accredited with the Bulls of a dead Pope."\* In his interviews with the Queen civil speeches were made on both sides, but the Spaniard was not deceived by appearances. "She is a woman extremely vain and acute," he reported to Philip, "very similar in her manner of proceeding to her father. I greatly fear that in matters of religion she will not be right, because I see her inclined to govern by men who are held to be heretics, and because the women about her are all so." And further on: "There is not a heretic or traitor in the country that has not risen as from the dead to come to her with great contentment."

He observed further that she spoke with acrimony of Cardinal Pole, and of the annoyances he had caused her. De Feria hereupon urged her not to entertain ideas of vengeance, but in all matters relating to religion to show herself, as all hoped she would, a lady of much goodness and a Catholic princess, adding that if she went away from God, God and men would forsake her.

A few hours after this interview Cardinal Pole passed beyond the reach of vengeance, and Elizabeth's first act as queen was to order all his effects to be seized in the name of the Crown.† Then followed her public entry into London, when it was observed that she paid more attention to the common people than to the nobles. The least sign from her was fraught with significance, and was eagerly watched by the assembled multitude. As an earnest of her attitude towards the Catholics she passed the first night after her arrival in the metropolis at the Charterhouse, from which her father had caused sixteen of the sons of St. Bruno to be led to the scaffold for their fidelity to the

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\* Simancas Papers.

† Simancas Papers.

Catholic Church.\* White, Bishop of Winchester, was ordered to remain a prisoner in his house for the sermon he preached at Mary's funeral. This sermon has given rise to much misapprehension on the part of writers of history. Miss Strickland's account of the early part of Elizabeth's reign is replete with error. She represents Dr. White's discourse to have been delivered in Latin, in the presence of Elizabeth, who caused the bishop to be arrested as he descended the pulpit stairs. All these statements are incorrect. The sermon was in English, although, according to custom, the texts were given out in Latin; Elizabeth was not present, and the bishop was not arrested until he had returned to his own house. Miss Strickland affirms also that White defied the Queen, and threatened her with excommunication, for which she did not care a rush; that he was a prelate of austere but irreproachable manners, that he courted martyrdom, but that Elizabeth was far too wise to indulge him with that distinction, and that it was the words, "a living dog is better than a dead lion," quoted in the course of the sermon, which roused the Queen's anger. This may be termed historical romancing; it certainly is not history pure and simple. Reference to the sermon itself in Strype† shows that the words about the "living dog" had nothing whatever to do with Elizabeth, and could not have, in the sense in which they were used. The Bishop spoke honourably of the Queen, and his wish and efforts to provoke martyrdom have no grounds in history, for, according to Lord Burghley, Bishop White's manners were not austere, but of a courteous nature. The sting probably lay in the praise given to Mary, for not calling herself Head of the Church, and in the bringing in of the words "it is forbidden to a woman to speak in the Church."‡ Dr. Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, saying Mass on Christmas Day in the Royal Chapel, was peremptorily ordered not to elevate the Host. He replied that the Queen might dispose of his life as she would, but that she could have no control over his conscience. Elizabeth rose and left the chapel at the offertory, but she abstained from any remark on the subject, until it should be seen how her withdrawal was received by Parliament. §

As the time drew near for the Queen's coronation, the question arose as to whoshould perform the ceremony. The death of Cardinal Pole having left the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury vacant, the duty would devolve on the Archbishop of York. The account of

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\* Spillmann, "Die englischen Martyrer unter Elisabeth," p. 8.

† "Memorials," App. iii.

‡ "Queen Elizabeth and the Catholic Hierarchy," p. 70. The Rev. T. E. Bridgett and the Rev. T. F. Knox.

§ Camden, 32, 33.

his refusal, and the manner in which the rite was ultimately administered, is set forth succinctly in a Latin letter from Dr. Sander to Cardinal Morone, written in 1561.

The Archbishop (Dr. Heath) refused the function, having understood that in some respects it was intended to perform the ceremony in a schismatical manner. Many other of the bishops also refused, but at length the Bishop of Carlisle undertook it, not as a favourer of heresy, but lest the Queen should be angry if no one would anoint her, and so have a better excuse for overthrowing religion. Nor at this time were things so desperate but that some hoped it might still be possible to turn her from her purpose. The rest of the bishops assisted at the anointing.\*

Elizabeth was resolved at all costs to be firmly seated on the throne. If she were not solemnly crowned and anointed as her ancestors had been, the day might come when her right might be questioned, and the overwhelming passion of her heart was to reign—to be a great and powerful queen if possible, but a queen at all events. The end, therefore, being of necessity, the means must be found.

The Bishop of Carlisle, deceived into thinking that "it might still be possible to turn her from her purpose, of upsetting religion," consented, under the condition that all should be done according to the Roman ritual, and that she should communicate under one species. She accordingly took the usual oath of Christian kings, prescribed by tradition and by law, in the most solemn way, swearing to defend the Catholic faith, and to guard the rights and immunities of the Church,† and thus, says Fr. Spillmann, in his history of the English Martyrs, "was Elizabeth anointed Queen of England, with a false oath on her lips, and a sacrilegious communion in her heart."

Elizabeth gave no greater proof of her capacity than in the choice of her Ministers. Ambitious, shrewd, and crafty as she was herself, hampered by no scruples, they were admirably adapted to second her views. As hers must necessarily be a fencing policy, demanding all the resources of an age teeming with novelties, tact was above all indispensable, to keep together the various important but conflicting elements which composed her Ministry, and tact she possessed in an eminent degree. There was not one of her counsellors but had shown himself facile in matters of religion. Cecil had been a zealous Protestant in

\* Vatican MS., f. 258. This statement proves that Dr. Lee is mistaken ("The Church under Queen Elizabeth," p. 23) in saying that none of the diocesan bishops who were in canonical possession of their sees were present, and that one and all deliberately and intentionally stayed away.

† "The Anglican Schism renewed under Elizabeth," by the Rev. E. Righton.

Edward's reign, and had supported the cause of the Lady Jane. He had signed the letter written by Edward's Council to Mary, reminding her that her father had declared her to be illegitimate, and calling upon her to submit to her "lawful sovereign." Later, when Jane had laid down the royal dignity, and Mary had ascended the throne, Cecil presented a letter to her in his own defence. It consists of twenty-one clauses, and lays bare the conscience of the man who is proved by his own words to be cowardly, mean, and untruthful.\* With a curious absence of shame, he admits that when ordered to proclaim the Lady Jane, he "turned the labour to Mr. Throckmorton, whose conscience, I saw, was troubled therewith, misliking the matter." After this it was inevitable that Cecil and Throckmorton should be enemies; Elizabeth could dispense neither with the one nor with the other, but she anticipated and prevented all friction by employing one as her *alter ego* at home, while Throckmorton was her all but ubiquitous spy-in-chief abroad. On Mary's accession, Cecil not only conformed to the Catholic religion, but had his son Thomas, afterwards Earl of Exeter, brought up in the same. In the Easter Book of the parish of Wimbledon, for 1556, the following entry occurs:—

"Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Cecill and my lady Myldread his wyffe confessed and resaved the Sacrament of the Altre"—

the document in question being endorsed in Cecil's own handwriting. With Paget and Hastings he was sent to bring over Cardinal Pole, and although Mary mistrusted him too much to give him any official position, she generously forgave him, and he appeared frequently at Court, where he was careful to keep his friends in sight. One of his most able apologists, although unwilling to see the flaws in his character, cannot but admit, in admiring his brilliant attainments, that he was "an adept at fencing and doubling, and that his craft was unequalled."†

In a letter to his son, written in his old age, Cecil unconsciously reveals the springs of his own actions during a lifetime.

"Be sure," he writes, "to keep some great man thy friend, but trouble him not for trifles, compliment him often, with many and small gifts, and if thou hast cause to bestow any great gratuity, let it be something which may be daily in sight, otherwise, in this ambitious age, thou shalt remain like a hop without a pole, live in obscurity, and be made a football for every insulting companion to spurn at."‡

In the last year of Mary's life, true to his principles, he was

\* Landsdowne MSS., Brit. Museum, 102, f. 2.

† "England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary," by Patrick Fraser Tytler.

‡ Peck's "Desiderata Curiosa," p. 47.

careful to turn his attention towards the rising sun, and Elizabeth was not slow in discerning the value of his magnificent talents. Thomas Parry, in a letter to the future statesman, delivered a flattering message from the future Queen: "Her Grace commanded me to write this: Write my commendations in your letter to Mr. Cecil, that I am well assured, tho' I send not daily to him, that he doth not, for all that, daily forget me; say indeed I assure myself thereof."

It would be idle to dispute that Cecil, Lord Burghley, was the foremost diplomatist, the greatest statesman of his age. He was neither sordid, nor wantonly cruel; but he was remorseless in the pursuit of his ends, and the blood of hundreds of innocent victims, including that of the Queen of Scots, lies at his door. "His maxims and his conduct were founded on that kind of morality of State, which considers virtue a felicitous compromise of opposed principles and extreme opinions, making everything legitimate that is expedient, and everything expedient that is advantageous to the policy of the individual or of the State."\*

Of the other members of Elizabeth's Council, two had been banished the kingdom in the late reign, one had always been a zealous partisan of the Princess Elizabeth, two were connected with Cecil by blood and alliance. But there was a Council within the Council, composed exclusively of Cecil and his friends; these possessed the Queen's ear, and, through her, controlled every department of the State.†

It was clear to all that an alteration of religion was contemplated. Cecil had laid his plans carefully. Five new peers of decided Protestant leaning had been added to the Upper House, and a majority in favour of the Government, had been secured in the Commons, by sending to the Sheriffs a list of candidates out of whom the members were to be chosen. The Archbishop of York at once resigned his seals, which were transferred to Sir Nicholas Bacon. Thus packed, Parliament met on the 25th of January, 1559. It had been the custom for the abbot and monks of Westminster to receive the monarch with great solemnity at the door of the House on the opening of Parliament, but Elizabeth sent them word that she would dispense with this ceremony.

Bills were at once introduced for the supremacy of the Crown, and for the abolition of all foreign jurisdiction, for conformity of common prayer and administration of sacraments, for the restitution and annexation of first fruits to the Crown, others equally detrimental to the liberties of the Church, and one for restoring the Queen in blood.

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\* "Penal Laws enacted against Roman Catholics," by R. R. Madden, M.R.I.A., &c.

† Lingard, vol. vii. p. 252.

The bishops unanimously opposed all but the last, to which they offered no opposition. Kitchin, Bishop of Llandaff, alone of all the Marian bishops, betrayed his trust and took subsequently the oath of supremacy.

Henry VIII., in breaking with all the Catholic traditions of the country, had surprised and terrified the episcopate into submission, with the exception of the holy and learned Bishop of Rochester. Elizabeth, on the contrary, stood alone at the head of her Council, in opposition to the whole hierarchy, and with them were the great majority of the heads of colleges in both Universities, all the regular and by far the greater number of the secular clergy, besides a large contingent of distinguished Catholic laymen.

Sir Thomas White, founder of St. John's College, Oxford, and Lord Mayor of London, protested in Parliament against the injustice and folly of abolishing, by means of a set of "beardless boys," a religion which was planted in the country in so marvellous a manner, and by such venerable and holy men.

John Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster, from his place in the House of Lords drew a vivid picture, by analogy, of the new era then beginning :

In her late Majesty's reign [he said] your Lordships may remember how quiet and governable the people were. It was not then their custom to prescribe to authority, to run before the laws, nor disobey the proclamations of their sovereign. There was then no sacrilegious rapine, no plundering of churches, no blasphemous outrage and trampling the holy sacraments under their feet. It was none of their way to tear down the pyx and hang up the knave of clubs in its place. They did not hack and hew the crucifix, in those times. They were better observers of discipline than to eat flesh openly, and fill their shambles with butcher's meat, in the holy solemnity of Lent. In the late reign, the generality of the people, and particularly the nobility and those of the Privy Council, were exemplary for their public devotion, it being the custom to go to a church or chapel, to beg the protection of God, before they entered upon the business of the day. But now the face of things is quite otherwise.\*

The Archbishop of York and Bishop Scott of Chester both made logical and incisive speeches against the Act of Uniformity.

First [said Dr. Heath] by relinquishing and forsaking the Church or See of Rome, we must forsake and fly from all General Councils. Secondly, from all canonical and ecclesiastical laws of the Church of Christ.

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\* See Abbot Feckenham's speech against the Act of Uniformity, Bib. Cott. Vesp. D. XVIII., fol. 8 *et seq.*



Thirdly, from the judgment of all other Christian princes.

Fourthly and lastly, we must forsake and fly from the holy unity of Christ's Church, and so, by leaping out of Christ's ship, we hazard ourselves to be overwhelmed in the waves of schism, of sects, and of divisions.\*

The Bill enjoining the new Prayer Book was passed by a majority of three, in the Upper House; eleven bishoprics had become vacant, and were carefully omitted to be filled up before the meeting of Parliament. It had been announced that the three estates of the realm were to be consulted before any change was made "in matters and ceremonies of religion;" but it is notorious that all the measures were carried in direct opposition to the bishops and the main body of the clergy. Of the laity, among others, the Marquess of Winchester, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Viscount Montague, Lords Morley, Stafford, Wharton, Rich, North, and Ambrose Dudley had entered the lists for the upholding of Catholic Religion. †

Parliament rose on Good Friday, and during the Easter vacation the first step was taken to inaugurate the new liturgy, in the form of a religious discussion, held by order of the Queen in Westminster Abbey. Three subjects were named for the three days during which the dispute was to last. These were: The use of the Latin tongue in divine service; the right of churches to alter the ritual; and the Mass as a propitiatory sacrifice, for the living and the dead. Eight combatants were appointed for each side. In defence of Catholic truth were the four bishops of Winchester, Lichfield, Chester, and Lincoln, and the Doctors of Theology, Cole, Harpsfield, Chedsey, and Langdale. Both Houses of Parliament were assembled to witness the combat. On the second day, Bishop White of Winchester rose to answer the objections brought by the Protestants the day before, against the use of the Latin tongue, but the Lord Chancellor Bacon objected that this was an infringement of the Queen's orders, and that the bishops should now bring forward their arguments in support of the second thesis. It thus became evident that Catholic arguments were not to have fair play, the last word in each case being allotted to the Protestant champions. The bishops, seeing that they were to be mere puppets in the show, and that it was already decided which side should prevail, refused to state the argument. They declared that they were the representatives of the ancient Catholic Faith; their opponents must present their difficulties which they would then answer. Bacon replied that they must keep to the prescribed order, or the

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\* Heylin, "Historical Collections," p. 162.

† D'Ewes, "Journal of both Houses."

dispute should come to an end. On the refusal of each to continue on these terms, Bacon summoned Abbot Feckenham to take up the discussion. He also having declined, the assembly broke up. The Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln were at once arrested and sent to the Tower; the others were cited to appear before the Privy Council and ordered not to leave London.

At this juncture the one hope of the Catholics lay in Philip. He had in a ciphered despatch, dated Brussels, January 10, 1559, opened a formal negotiation for a marriage between himself and Elizabeth, "solely for the service of our Lord and the good of religion, with no temporal object."\* The Queen must abjure all heresies, and seek absolution and dispensation from the Pope. De Feria was charged with the delicate mission of representing his master, in the light of a suitor who would not yield an iota of his conditions. Strangely enough, Elizabeth does not appear to have been offended by Philip's attitude towards her. She replied that Parliament must be consulted, but that should she marry, he might be assured he would be preferred to all others. But informed by De Feria of the nature of the Bills laid before Parliament, Philip wrote to him, charging him to press very urgently upon the Queen the very grave results which must ensue upon the reforms she was occasioning, directing him to tell her plainly that if these were persisted in, he could not treat of the marriage. Elizabeth replied that she wished to remain single; that she could not marry Philip, because she was a heretic; that she intended to restore religion as it had been left by her father; that she felt very scrupulous, as regarded the Papal dispensation; that Parliament had declared her legitimacy, and had denied the authority of the Pope. On the 7th April Sir John Mason arrived in London with the news that the King of Spain had signed the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis, one of the conditions of which was, that he should marry Isabelle de Valois. Elizabeth, in spite of what she had said, was visibly annoyed at the loss of her suitor, and remarked to De Feria that his master could not have been very much in love with her, since he had not had patience to hope for scarce four months. De Feria retorted that it was her own fault, but she denied it, saying that she had never given a definite answer. To this he assented, but added that although the refusal was indirect, he had not sought so to press her as to bring her to the point of saying so roundly, to avoid all cause of anger between two such great sovereigns. In another letter De Feria says that a great number of English

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\* Philip to De Feria, Simancas Papers, 1559. *Relations Politiques des Pays Bas et de l'Angleterre sous le Règne de Philippe II.*, publiées par M. Le Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, p. 354.

nobles are favourable to heresy, but that the great bulk of the nation remain faithful to the Catholic Church.\*

On the refusal of the bishops to take the oath of supremacy, they were deprived of their sees and committed to prison. Besides this, the Bishop of Lichfield was fined in 500 marks, the Bishop of Carlisle in £250, the Bishop of Chester in 200 marks. Dr. Cole was called upon to pay a fine of 500 marks, Dr. Harpsfield one of £40, and Dr. Chedsey one of 40 marks. Philip had placed a sum of 60,000 crowns at the disposal of the Spanish Ambassador, "to be economically employed in support of the Catholic cause." It was all swept into the royal coffers as payment of the above and other fines. It was the beginning of the unbloody persecution which extended over a period of ten years, to be followed by torture and bloodshed and every refinement of cruelty. During the latter years of Elizabeth's reign the rack was scarcely ever at rest. Meanwhile, whenever a priest refused to adopt the new Prayer Book, or spoke of it slightly, he was liable to forfeit a year's stipend for the first offence, and to be imprisoned for six months, without the option of bail. For the second offence, he was *ipse facto* deprived of his living altogether, and condemned to a year's imprisonment. For a third offence, he not only forfeited his goods, but was doomed to languish in prison for the rest of his days. A layman convicted of speaking publicly against the Book of Common Prayer, or of causing a priest to use any other prayers than those contained therein, either in public or private devotions, or of causing him to celebrate any Sacrament in a different manner to that prescribed in the Prayer Book, was liable to be fined 100 marks for the first offence, to be paid within six weeks under pain of six months' imprisonment without the option of bail. For a second offence, the punishment was a fine of 400 marks and a year's imprisonment; and a third offence sentenced him to life-long imprisonment, with the forfeiture of all his goods. The effect of this cleverly contrived engine had been foreseen, and the way in which it was worked was no less ingenious. At first, some indulgence was exercised. Men should be surprised into acceptance of the new service. Arrests were few and far between, and made chiefly for example's sake. The imprisoned bishops were even told that if they would but publicly conform to the Prayers of the Established Church, the oath of Supremacy would not be exacted from them.† All persons about to take orders, however, or to receive degrees in either University—all clergymen on their promotion to livings, all judges, magistrates,

\* Documents from Simancas relating to the reign of Elizabeth, edited by Spencer Hall, F.S.H.

† Strype, A. i. pt. 1, 370, 372.

and servants of the Crown, were required to take it. It differed but little from that framed by Henry VIII., and the alteration of the term "Supreme Head" to "Supreme Governor" was a distinction without a difference. It ran as follows:—

I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare in my conscience that the Queen's Highness is the only supreme Governor of this Realm, and of all other her Highness's Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Things and Causes, as Temporal; and that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realm, and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign Jurisdictions, Powers, Superiorities, and Authorities, and do promise that from henceforth I shall bear Faith and true Allegiance to the Queen's Highness, her Heirs and Lawful Successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Privileges, Pre-eminencies, and Authorities granted or belonging to the Queen's Highness, her Heirs and Successors, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. So help me God and by the contents of this book.\*

Nothing was spared to bring Elizabeth to a better sense. Pope Pius IV. wrote her the following touching appeal, to be delivered by the Abbot Vincent Parpaglia:

Very dear daughter in Christ, we send you greeting, health, and the apostolical benediction! How greatly we desire (our pastoral charge so requiring it) to procure the salvation of your soul, and to provide likewise for your honour, and the security of your kingdom withal, God who is the searcher of all hearts knoweth, and you yourself may understand by what we have given in charge to this our beloved son, Vincentius Parpaglia, Abbot of St. Saviour's, a man well known to you, and well approved of us. Wherefore, we do again and again exhort and admonish your Highness, most dear daughter, that, rejecting evil counsellors, which love not you, but themselves, and serve their own lusts, you would take the fear of God into council with you, and acknowledging the time of your visitation, would show yourself obedient to Our fatherly persuasions and wholesome counsels, and promise to yourself from Us all things that may make not only to the salvation of your soul, but also, whatsoever you shall desire from Us, for the establishing and confirming of your princely dignity, according to the authority, place, and office committed unto Us by God. And if so be (as we desire and hope) that you shall return into the bosom of the Church, We shall be ready to receive you with the same love, honour, and rejoicing that the Father in the Gospel did his son, returning to him; although Our joy is like to be the greater; in that he was joyful for the safety of one son, but you, drawing along with you

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\* Gibson's "Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani," p. 51, ed. 1713.

all the people of England, shall hear Us and the whole company of our brethren (who are shortly, God willing, to be assembled in a General Council, for the taking away of heresies, and so, for the salvation of yourself and your whole nation) fill the Church universal with rejoicing and gladness. Yea, you shall make glad Heaven itself with such a memorable fact, and achieve admirable renown to your name, much more glorious than the crown you wear. But concerning this matter, the same Vincentius shall deal with you more largely, and shall declare Our fatherly affection toward you; and We entreat your Majesty to receive him lovingly, to hear him diligently, and to give the same credit to his speeches which you would to Ourself.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's under the Fisherman's Ring, May 5th, 1560, in the first year of Our Pontificate.\*

The effect of this olive branch upon Elizabeth was remarkable. The Pope had solicited Philip's aid, and the Spanish ambassador in England, De Quadra, had in an audience with the Queen broached the subject of a Papal envoy. Elizabeth assumed a humble and penitent tone, declared that she was as good a Catholic as the ambassador himself, and called upon God to witness that her faith was the same as that of every Catholic in her kingdom. Upon being asked why, then, she had violated her conscience, and had committed so great a crime against her Catholic subjects, she replied that she had been compelled to act as she had done, and was certain that he would find excuses for her if he knew how she had been coerced. Before the close of the interview she was brought to declare that the Pope's legate should be welcome, and that it should not be her fault if religion were not restored to what it had been at the death of her sister.†

De Quadra, in his account of the interview, says that he weighed her words carefully, so that it should be impossible to her to give them another meaning if it should suit her purpose later on to do so. He was in no way deceived by the tone she affected, and the sequel proved that he was right when he said, "Her words are other than her thoughts," for no sooner was the Treaty of Leith signed and the French army withdrawn from Scotland, than Elizabeth again veered round, defied the Pope and forbade Parnaglia to set foot in England. At first, the great danger to the majority of English Catholics was the uncertainty as to whether they were bound to disregard the order to be present at the services of the new State religion. Their case was without a precedent. The Book of Common Prayer con-

\* MS. Vatican, 2896, n. 214. Brit. Museum MS., Titus, c. vii. n. 11.

† Raynaldus ad ann. 1561, n. 51; quoted by Father Spillmann, "Die Englischen Martyrer unter Elisabeth."

tained little to which a Catholic could object. The Psalms were the same as those to which they had always been accustomed, and most of the other prayers were beautiful Catholic petitions taken from the Missal. There was indeed much that they would miss in the new service; the chief act of worship, the Sacrifice of the Mass, had been swept away; but they did not look upon the condition of things as a permanent one, and meanwhile, was it not better for the ultimate triumph of their cause, to bend a little before the storm? Many had Mass secretly said in their own houses, and afterwards appeared at the parish church to escape the fines, but stopped their ears with wool, lest they should hear the sermons. Sir Richard Sherborne and his family were indicted for such practices. The penalty for non-attendance at the new service was £20 per lunar month for those possessed of means; the poor were simply thrown into prison. Even when his absence from Church had been compounded for, a recusant was liable to a year's imprisonment and an extra fine of 500 marks each time that he heard Mass; and when released from prison he was in danger of forfeiting his lands and goods for ever, for the crime of straying five miles from his own door.\* Many rich and influential families were reduced to beggary, for the fines were relatively so enormous, that, to arrive at a just appreciation of their amount, we must multiply every figure by twelve. The year 1569 was a decisive one for the English Catholics. After the repeated attempts of his predecessor to soften Elizabeth's heart, Pope Pius V. judged that the time had passed when England might be saved to the Church by patience and longanimity. Henceforth, the faithful were in jeopardy, unless the bent and nature of the conspiracy were exposed. A generation was growing up in ignorance of Catholic teaching, and legislation was indispensable, in order that sincere and honest Catholics might not be in danger of wandering blindly from the Fold. Already, in 1562, De Quadra had written to the Spanish Ambassador in Rome, praying that the question might be laid before the Pope, whether English Catholics might, without sin, take part in the Anglican service. "The case is a new one, and not easy to settle," he had said. It was laid before the Inquisition as follows:

May Catholics, living in a country in which the practice of their religion is forbidden, under pain of death, without danger of losing their souls, obey a law which orders them to frequent conventicles, where psalms are sung, passages from the Bible read out in the vernacular, and heretical doctrines are preached?

The answer was a plain and emphatic "NO." Although, it

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\* Lingard, vol. viii. p. 296.



was admitted, they would not be compelled to communicate with heretics, they would in appearance, at least, share their belief and expose their own faith to danger. This was indeed the very object of the law, in order that they might become Protestants by imperceptible degrees.\*

The Emperor Ferdinand had interceded with Elizabeth, on behalf of the imprisoned bishops and the suffering people, but in vain; she had no intention of granting liberty of conscience to any of her subjects, and least of all, to the Catholics. On the 24th of February, 1569, the Pope signed the famous Bull, *Regnans in excelsis*, deposing Elizabeth, and releasing her subjects from obedience to her. But a year was still to elapse before it was made public.

Meanwhile, Cecil and his agents were more concerned to destroy the ancient worship altogether, than to enforce the utmost rigour of the law upon the worshippers. War should first be declared upon stones, and the relics and shrines of saints, and then, if the people still refused to bow before the golden image that Elizabeth the Queen had set up, flesh and blood must suffer. This policy played into the hands of the most violent among the heretics; greed and cupidity, sacrilege and fanaticism were rampant all over the country. Blasphemies expressed in the most revolting language, acts of barbarism that would have been disgraceful in South Sea Islanders were the characteristics of men modestly calling themselves "reformers." Smashing, hacking and defacing were signs of the "elect." Much of the damage to old altars, tombs, church doorways, windows, &c., dates from the second or third year of Queen Elizabeth. The headless statues, which we deplore, in the abbeys and cathedrals throughout the kingdom, the missals torn and "sold to pedlars to lap spices in," the holy water founts turned into milk vessels, are eloquent of the early part of the reign of "Good Queen Bess." Rood lofts were then converted into weavers' looms or bedsteads, vestments were turned into bed-hangings, altar linen was made into shirts and smocks. Altar-stones were ordered to be inserted into the pavement, at the entrance to the churches, where all passers might trample them under foot. John Lord Sheffield, of Mulgrave Castle, had one altar-stone made into a sink for his kitchen; others were used as swine-troughs, or put to similar uses. Pyxes were given as playthings to children, or made into salt-cellar.† The feasts of Our Lady were abolished, and the Queen's birthday substituted. In

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\* Simancas Papers, *l.c.* vii. 24.

† Edward Peacock, F.S.A., "English Church Furniture: Reformation Period," pp. 29-171.

Grindal's "Articles to be Enquired of in the Archdiocese of York" for the year 1571, there occurs the following paragraph :

Whether in your churches and chapels, all altars be utterly taken down and clean removed, even unto the foundation; and the place where they stood paved, and the wall whereunto they joined whited over and made uniform with the rest, so as no breach or rupture appear. And whether your rood lofts be taken down, and altered, so that the upper parts thereof, with the sollar or loft, be quite taken down unto the cross-beam, and that the said beam have some convenient crest put upon the same.

No one having studied these injunctions of Grindal's, the "Visitation Articles" for the diocese of Norwich (1561), the State papers relating to the first years of Elizabeth's reign, the works of Jewell and of Sandys, as well as the correspondence of Elizabeth's bishops with Cecil, can doubt that these mutilations and defacings were judicial acts of the new bishops, and not merely the wild freaks of infuriated iconoclasts. They were decreed with the distinct object of removing from the people's sight all that could remind them of their former devotions, so that they might be completely weaned from the old form of worship, and should in time learn to hate and revile that which they had before cherished and venerated. In the "Injunctions" for the See of Durham, the following entry occurs under *Connscilf*:

There remaineth in the church, the remnants of the rood-loft, untaken down. There remaineth in the choir, certain corbel stones which were sometime foot-paths for images, one on either side of the high altar. There remaineth yet one altar without the choir door, undefaced. The churchwardens to remove and certify.

In the "Injunctions" of Edmund Grindal for 1571 these words are to be found: "The churchwardens shall see that the altar-stones be broken, defaced, and put to some common use."

With regard to the "new men" who took possession of the "old acres," they were, for the most part, heretics who had fled to foreign countries in the reign of Mary, and who now returned to divide the spoils. Others were apostate priests, and of these there were not a few; for the new laws were great winnowers of men. Every worldly advantage was to be gained by adopting the Queen's religion; comfortable livings, riches, and security; whereas, to be a Catholic priest was to be an outcast, to be fined and imprisoned, reviled, and hated. Only too many fell away. Learning decreased. William Bennett, Prior of the Cell of Finchdale, a daughter of the great mother church of Durham, is a fair specimen of the priest who "conformed to the times." Choosing to consider himself released from his vow of celibacy,

he took to himself a wife, and became the first prebendary of the fourth stall of the newly founded cathedral of Durham. He became rich in silver plate and furniture, and his barns and granaries were well plenished; but at his death, his books were valued at only five shillings.\* In his will he refers to his wife, then alive, as Ann Bennett, *alias* Thompson, according to a custom which became general for apostate priests and monks to proclaim the very dubious and uncertain light in which they regarded their helpmates. Instances such as this might be enumerated by scores, but our present business is not so much with those who failed in religion, as with those whose labours and sufferings merited that it should not utterly die out in the land.

In 1569 one supreme effort was made by the foremost English Catholics "to restore the crown, the nobility, and the worship of God to their former estate," and to liberate the unfortunate Queen of Scots from her unjust captivity. More than half the population of the country was still Catholic, and it was estimated that in the counties of York, Durham, and Northumberland there were not ten gentlemen who favoured Elizabeth's proceedings in matters of religion.† The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland entered the city of Durham at the head of only sixty armed horsemen, but they met with so little resistance that they took possession of the city and caused High Mass to be once more offered in Durham Cathedral, in the presence of several thousand people. They ransacked the property of the Bishop of Durham and of the new ministers, but they put no one to death.‡ From Durham they marched through Staindrop, Darlington, Richmond, and Ripon, restoring the ancient service as they went. At Branham Moor they mustered 1700 horse and rather less than 4000 foot, and, but for the want of a proper understanding with the Catholic population, would undoubtedly have succeeded. But their money was expended before they obtained Philip's promised help. The Duke of Alva failed to arrive with his contingent of men and money, and the cause was lost before it came to a serious battle. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland were taken prisoners. The Earl of Sussex, who had set up the royal standard, numbered among his army a large body of Catholic gentlemen and their tenantry, who either misunderstood the nature of the rising, or who were impelled by interest to range themselves on the side of the Government. Many were still in doubt, not knowing that Elizabeth had been excommunicated. Her fury vented itself on the country people who had taken up arms in

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\* "Publications of the Surtees Society," vol. xxii. p. 43.

† Sadler, ii. 55.

‡ Grindal to Bullinger, Zurich Letters, First Series, Let. 87.

defence of their faith; and in Cecil and the Earl of Sussex she had most zealous agents. Sussex played the part of executioner, and was merciless in his anxiety to convince the Queen of his loyalty. He had been accused of dilatoriness in attacking the insurgents; he could not be convicted either of gentleness or pity in dealing with the vanquished. Cecil had advised that, in order to discover the guilty, a few inhabitants in each town should be apprehended, and "if nede be, should by lac of foode" be induced to disclose the names of those among their neighbours who had taken part in the rebellion.\* On December 29, according to Camden, Stowe, and Holinshed, Sussex wrote to Cecil with regard to those who were to be sacrificed, "the number whereof, is yet uncertain, for that I knowe not the number of the townes; but I gesse that it will not be under six or seven hundred at the least that shall be executed of the comon sorte, besides the prisoners taken in the felde."

We hear much of the cruelties perpetrated under Queen Mary, and it is calculated that during her reign about two hundred persons suffered for spreading abroad heresy, and for conspiring against public order and safety. But, after this one attempt of the downtrodden Catholics in the North, to regain the liberty of worshipping God as their ancestors had done for centuries, the executions were incomparably more numerous. More than three hundred took place in the county of Durham alone, and between Newcastle and Wetherby, a district of sixty miles in length and forty in breadth, there was not a town or village in which some of the inhabitants did not perish on the gibbet, as a warning to their fellows. The rest were pardoned, but on condition that they should take not only the oath of allegiance, but also that of supremacy.†

After nearly two years, spent as a prisoner at Lochleven, Northumberland was delivered into the custody of Lord Hunsdon. The wonderful strength and sweetness of his character so won over his gaoler, otherwise no friend to Catholics, that he himself applied to the Queen for a pardon. Elizabeth's only answer was a message to send him forthwith to York to be executed. Hunsdon replied that it was not his office to conduct noblemen to the headsman, and that he would rather be sent to prison himself than obey the command. The task was ultimately assigned to Sir John Foster, who had been enriched with Northumberland's confiscated estates. It was signified to the condemned man that his life would be spared, and that he should be restored to honour and fortune if he would but abjure his

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\* Sharpe, "Memorials of the Rebellion," 126.

† Camden, Stowe, Holinshed, *apud* Lingard, vol. viii. p. 51.

religion. But he replied that no greater honour could be conferred on him than the honour of a martyr's death. Even then heretic ministers were sent to argue with him, but he did not cease to declare that he would die in the holy Catholic religion. With a serene and joyful countenance he ascended the scaffold, on August 22, 1572.\* There is no doubt that the Earl of Northumberland was regarded by his contemporaries as a martyr for the Faith.

Among the portraits painted by Circiniani, which have contributed so largely to the beatification of the English martyrs, is one representing the decapitation of a nobleman. It bears the inscription, "*Quidam vir illustris capite plexus est,*" and Father John Morris has expressed the opinion that it is in all probability the portrait of Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland. Nevertheless, as no name was affixed, there remained enough of uncertainty to prevent his being added to the list of beatified in the Papal decree of the 29th of December, 1886.†

Meanwhile, the Bull of Excommunication had been published. Its immediate result was to render Mary Stuart's captivity closer and harder; and the execution of her devoted friend, the Duke of Norfolk, was a foreshadowing of her own.

According to Lingard, a prisoner prosecuted by the Crown had small chances of a favourable verdict. The Duke of Norfolk was kept in ignorance of most of the charges brought against him till he heard the indictment from the bar. He was allowed the aid of no counsel, was debarred from all communication with his friends, and, after having been a close prisoner in the Tower for eighteen weeks, only received notice of his trial the night before his arraignment. Then, without notes, deprived of the use of books, he was invited to answer charges suddenly brought against him, and ranging over a period of three years.‡ Two of his servants, Barker and Bannister, were examined in the evidence brought against him. The examinations were conducted in a truly Elizabethan manner, as is shown by the following letter from the Queen. It is dated September 15, 1572:

If they shall not seem to you to confess plainly their knowledge, then we warrant you to cause them both or either of them to be brought to the rack, and first to move them with fear thereof, to deal plainly in their answers, and if that shall not move them, then you shall cause them to be put to the rack, *and to find the taste thereof, until they shall deal more plainly, or until you shall think meet.*§

\* Bridgewater, "*Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ in Anglia,*" fol. 45-49.

† "*Die Englischen Martyrer unter Elisabeth,*" p. 67.

‡ History of England, vol. viii. p. 87.

§ Letter of warrant from Elizabeth to Sir Thomas Smith and Dr. Wilson to extort a confession from Barker and Bannister, MS. Cotton. Calig. c. iii. fol. 129.

Two days later, Sir Thomas Smith, writing to Cecil Lord Burghley, says :

I suppose we have gotten as much at this time as is like to be had ; yet to-morrow, we do intend to bring a couple of them to the rack, not in any hope to get anything worthy that pain or fear, but because it is so earnestly commanded us.

On the 20th of September the same correspondent adds : "Of Bannister with the rack, of Barker with the extreme fear thereof, we suppose to have gotten all."\*

At the trial it was made to appear as if these confessions had been spontaneous. If such things had been done under Mary, how much righteous indignation would have been poured forth in condemnation of her cruelty ! Henceforth, to the end of Elizabeth's reign, the rack, with its attendant instruments of torture, was seldom at rest. Whole families of Catholics emigrated, and their lands and possessions were immediately seized by the Crown.† Elizabeth complained that the Court of Philip II. was the resort of all her enemies ; but at home every gaol in the kingdom contained recusants, so that it was sometimes objected that Protestant criminals, their fellow-prisoners, were in danger of being converted. A gentleman, whose name does not transpire, writing to Sir Francis Walsingham, tells him of a visit he has paid to two priests confined in Newgate. He thinks the prisons great nurseries of Popery, and advises that priests should either be banished or put into solitary confinement. He desires, therefore, the release of his kinsman, a zealous Protestant, who has been committed to gaol "for consenting to the stealing of the Queen's venison."‡

It does not appear whether the prayer was granted ; but it would have been no exception to the common rule. Justice was never worse administered. The judicial records of Elizabeth's reign form a long procession of trials with packed juries and verdicts that had been foregone conclusions from the beginning. A justice of the peace was defined in Parliament, as "an animal who, for half a dozen chickens, would dispense with a dozen laws."

Thus, provided an accused person were not indicted for his priesthood, or for the harbouring of priests, for hearing Mass, or for being in possession of Catholic books, vestments, or *Agnus Dei*, he might with a little management easily secure a pardon. The following are a few instances taken at hazard from the records, which teem with documents illustrating the fact that murder was by no means an unpardonable crime, that forgery

\* Ellis, II, 261.

† Strype ii. App. 102.

‡ Bib. Harl., 286, fol. 60.



was frequently condoned, and that libel was hardly esteemed an offence at all.

Thos. Webbe, of London, convicted of coining and uttering Elizabeth shillings, was pardoned, provided he depart into the Low Countries within forty days, and do not return without licence.\*

Roger Orme, of Whittington, co. Stafford, committed for killing Thos. Pudsey, of Langford, co. Derby, was pardoned.†

Thos. Towley, yeoman, of London, imprisoned for burglary, was pardoned.‡

Close upon this follows another pardon for burglary, and another for George Bostock, of Holt, Denbigh, for killing John Rodon. A pardon was also granted about the same time for manslaughter, and another for burglary. Henry Goslin, Keeper of St. Edmondsbury Gaol, was pardoned for the escape of Francis Hexam, committed for felony and treason. The said Francis Hexam was also pardoned for the above offences and for breaking prison. These are followed by two more pardons granted to yeomen for manslaughter, and so on. The law, moreover, for suppressing and keeping in order alehouses was not enforced, whereby it is recorded great drunkenness, unlawful games, and other abuses were rife.§

At the same time, it was extremely difficult for a Catholic, much more for a priest, accused of any offence whatever, to obtain common justice. Thus, Thos. Wright, priest, arrested on suspicion of being concerned in Essex's plot, complains to Sir Robert Cecil, from the prison of the Gatehouse:—

I find it written in the forefront of vindictive justice, that no man be punished, especially with death, before trial and judgment; eighteen weeks have passed, since by your commission, I have been closed within four walls, and buried alive, for life, without the use of it, may better be termed a burial or a death, than a life, without examination or sentence. Pray give order that my cause may be tried, and if by law, I deserve death, let me rather die once, than every day a new death. If I cannot obtain so much, let me enjoy that liberty of prison granted to common prisoners, and not lie thus rotting in a corner. . . . If I obtain this through you, I will pray for you, if not, God be my judge.||

Those Catholics who enjoyed comparative liberty were far from leading a secure or peaceful life. At any hour of the day or night they were exposed to the danger of invasion and destruction of their property. Often, in the dead of the night,

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\* P. R. O. Dom. Eliz., vol. 249, July 1, 1594.

† *Ibid.* vol. 249, September 7, 1594. ‡ *Ibid.* vol. 250.

§ *Ibid.* vol. 260.

|| *Ibid.* vol. 266, fol. 23.

their houses would be suddenly surrounded with troops, while the sheriff of the district, accompanied by a band of soldiers, would demand admittance in the Queen's name. Then began, among oaths and blasphemies, the work of destruction. They tore down walls, pulled up flooring, in their brutal search for priests' hiding-places and contraband Church furniture. In the North, when a search was made, recusants fled to the Isle of Man or to Scotland. Some hid in caves; some took refuge on the Peak in Derbyshire, where Robert Eyre, a justice of the peace, whose brother was a recusant, gave warning at the approach of danger. They were relieved by shepherds, so that, as one of Cecil's spies wrote to the Lord Treasurer, "that country was a sanctuary for wicked men." The "wicked men" were such as Father Boast, a northern priest, who, in his examination before Sir Robert Cecil, Sir John Wolley, and Richard Topcliffe, said he was sorry there were not twenty priests in the place of every one throughout the country, but declared that he loved the Queen, and would take her part, even if the Pope sent an army against her, but that if His Holiness proceeded against her as a heretic, he could not err, and that Catholics must obey the Church. For this statement Boast was declared to be "full of treason."\* When brought to the scaffold, he wished to God that his blood might be in satisfaction for the Queen's sins.†

Lord Sheffield, very zealous against recusants, made an attack on Groman Hall, a house "notorious for receiving priests and fugitives from beyond the sea." One John Ferne, writing to Cecil, says:

The search at Groman Abbey was made as appointed by the intelligencer at 2 A.M., after St. Peter's Day. The recusants have so many eyes in this place that I could not take men enough to compass the house, and resist their violence, without discovering the attempt; therefore, I requested the assistance of Lord Sheffield, who has a sincere profession of religion, and was at Mulgrave Castle, three miles off. Your warrant coming to him at 10 P.M., he took the keys of his castle gates into his own hands, and came to the house with thirty-six servants. He left his horses half a mile off, and they compassed the place; the back doors were open, and there were the steps of a horse and man perceived. I believe the spy had discovered it, for he gave me a false plan of the house. He promised to conduct to the house, and remain near, to give advice where to search, but failed in both, and wrote contradictory letters about it. I hope you will punish him as a deluder. It is difficult to search in that country, for the recusants keep scouts day and night, that their cattle should not be seized, and they ride armed.

\* Topcliffe to the Lord Keeper Puckering, P.R.O. Dom. Eliz., 1593.

† Challoner's "Missionary Priests," p. 250, supplement.

The case of poor ministers and Protestants is miserable. In the search, all things for furnishing a mass were found, and divers Popish books, but nothing else, though floors, ceilings, pavements, and double walls were broken up, and vaults of strange conveyance found out. At the stair-head was a post as thick as a man's body, on which the house seemed to bear, but it was really a removable hinge, locked from beneath, covering a hole, at which a man might descend. His Lordship took great pains, and would be much encouraged if his service were made known to her Majesty. I have done my uttermost, and am much grieved at the ill-success of this business.\*

In a subsequent letter, the same writer intimates that there are not many like Lord Sheffield, ready to conduct a search in person, and that the Archbishop of York, and the Council of the North should have him appointed one of the Council, "to encourage him to spend part of the summer at Mulgrave Castle, and make himself a terror to these ungodly recusants."

In spite, however, of the prisons, teeming with human life, in spite of the rack, the "Scavenger's Daughter," and all the hideous paraphernalia devised to create suffering in every conceivable form; in spite of house-to-house visitation, and finally the scaffold and the knife, the Catholic religion was so deeply rooted in the country, that its growth was no sooner arrested in one part than it sprang up with renewed vitality in another. It took long years for the elaborate machinery of Cecil's policy of extermination to stifle its vigorous life; it took longer to foist upon the people a politico-religious system which appealed to no sympathy, corresponded to no need, and which checked every aspiration of the human heart.

In a report to the Council, on the condition of Lancashire and Cheshire in 1591, the difficulties which the Ecclesiastical Commission met with in those counties are apparent. The report deplored the emptiness of the churches on Sundays and holidays, the number of absentees being greater than ever. Preachers refrained from preaching for lack of hearers. The people so swarmed in the streets and ale-houses during service time, that in many churches only the curate and his clerk were present. They lacked instruction, most of the parsons admitted by the bishops to fat benefices being themselves unlearned and non-resident in their parishes. Their lordships' letters, commanding the justices to call before them all parsons, vicars, curates, churchwardens, and sworn men, and examine them on oath, as to the statutes of the 1st and 3rd of Elizabeth, were disregarded. Some of the coroners and justices, with their families, were denounced for their non-attendance at church, and at the next

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\* P. R. O. Dom Eliz., vol. 271, 71, July 3, 1599. York.

quarter session information was to be given with regard to all offenders against these laws. The report includes a list of fourteen justices in Lancashire, of whom three, belonging to the Ecclesiastical Commission, were suspected of favouring Papacy, and many of them had not communicated at the Lord's Supper since the beginning of her Majesty's reign. The recusants, it went on to say, had scouts about the Commissioners, to give notice when anything was intended against them, and some of the bailiffs attending on the Commissioners allowed themselves to be bribed for that purpose, so that the recusants might "shift out of the way, and avoid being apprehended. Some example ought to be made of the bailiffs." It was hard, the report declared, for the Lord President of the North to keep Yorkshire in order, and the other counties adjoining, so long as Lancashire remained unreformed, and the law was powerless in that county. The decree for calling home of children sent to be educated in parts beyond the sea was also evaded.\*

But although Catholics were in a majority in every county, except Middlesex and Kent, the powerful minority neither slumbered nor slept. Many incidents such as the following are to be found among the records of this time, illustrating the vigilance with which the ports were watched. George Huxley, son of a husbandman of Bunbury, who had been ruined by fines, "all his goods having been taken from him for Papistry," set out on his road to London, to be apprenticed. At Chester he fell in with a friend of his father's, named Thomas Stevenson. This man had been imprisoned for recusancy, and he advised the boy to go to France, promising to place him there better than he could hope to be placed in London. Huxley consented, and two other boys having joined him, they struck a bargain with the captain of a French vessel for their passage over. But Stevenson was overheard by a spy of Cecil's "to reprehend the religion used in England as false"; he also said that his object in helping Huxley over the sea was that he might learn the truth. The spy at once gave information, and two of the boys were captured and taken before the Mayor of Chester, who wrote the matter of their examination to Lord Burghley, praying to know what should be done with them.†

It will be necessary to examine at greater length than can here be done, the important machinery, spread like a fine network over all the designs of Burghley and Walsingham, for the eradication of the Catholic religion. A perfect web of treachery, deceit, and fraud, the spy system was one of the principal agents in the triumph of the Reformation in England.

J. M. STONE.

\* P. R. O. Dom. Eliz., vol. 260.

† *Ibid.* July 2, 1595.

# ART. VI.—CATHOLICISM IN THE WAVERLEY NOVELS.

**I**N the second folio of Shakespeare there appears a laudatory poem, ascribed to Milton by Coleridge, applicable in many points to Sir Walter Scott :

A mind reflecting ages past, whose clear  
And equal surface can make things appear,  
Distant a thousand years, and represent  
Them in their lively colours, just extent ;  
To outrun hasty time, retrieve the fates,  
Roll back the heavens, blow ope the iron gates  
Of Death and Lethe, where confused lie  
Great heaps of ruinous mortality ;  
In that deep dusky dungeon to discern  
A royal ghost from churls ; by art to learn  
The physiognomy of shades, and give  
Them sudden birth. . . . .

The Waverley novels are prose poems. They contain distinct creations ; and no ideal creations, except those of Shakespeare, have ever succeeded so well in conveying to multitudes the impress of reality. Scott more than any writer, except Dante, has drawn his inspiration from Catholic times and Catholic models. Is his ideal the Catholic ideal ? I propose to answer this question in some measure ; and as doing so will involve occasional quotation of history, I will say at the outset, to prevent misunderstanding, that my intention is not to *refute* impressions—which would be a waste of time—but to show that the figure of Catholicism presented in the Waverley novels is only a blurred and jagged outline. Refutation is not possible when one has to do with creations of the imagination ; a poet is not a historian. The poet's function, however, has its limits ; if he is not compelled within the compass of his art to produce identity, he is bound to produce similarity. The veracity of a novelist is not the veracity of a photographer, he is not constrained in giving you the likeness of a man to give you the exact portrait of an individual, but he should limn the species, and not depict the thing that is not, and never was. Within these broad limits, and these only, do I mean to apply some critical observations to a few of the Waverley novels, in relation to my special subject—viz., the view which is presented, in these grand productions, of Catholicism generally.

The chivalric times of mediæval Europe had an absorbing interest for the mind of Scott. Chivalry was not the creation of

the Church; it existed in barbarous and pagan States widely separated; even the sun-worshipping Incas had their regular initiation and code of chivalry. What the Church did in Europe was to Christianise and humanise it, giving it at the same time loftier objects for the exercise of its prowess. Many of its virtues, and those the highest, were the offspring of Catholicism; some of its virtues, and all its vices, had their roots in man's capricious nature. Scott has presented us with a galaxy of sterling Catholic characters, nursed in the bosom of Holy Church; but for that Church itself which made them what they were he has few words of praise, for the priest who trained them he reserves the dimmest angle in his canvas. This is to be attributed chiefly to two causes: the Protestant public, for whom he wrote, and his own insufficient acquaintance with Catholic life, at least in his youthful days.

Early impressions were life-lasting with Scott. He says in "*Marmion*"—

And feelings roused in life's first day  
Glow in the line and prompt the lay.

No kindly guide in childhood led him one single step on Catholic paths. His father was a strict Calvinistic Presbyterian, his mother was the same, but more liberal in her creed, and very fond of poetry. Lancelot Whale, his first schoolmaster, "a strange, uncouth-looking person, with a two-storied wig, blind of an eye, and withal the worst-tempered man in Britain,"\* seems to have had little time and less inclination to make any impression for good or for evil on his pupil. His aunt at romantic Sandy-Knowe, with her interminable store of Border tales and ballads, influenced Scott more potently than any other human being. But she was not a Catholic. Constable † (later on destined to be his Jonathan Oldbuck) borrowed for him, from Father Pepper of the Scottish College at Ratisbonne, Adelung's German Dictionary. The loan of a German dictionary, at second-hand, was then the only early link between Sir Walter Scott and things Catholic.

But if he did not fall under Catholic influences, naturally he fell under others. He was brought up in his father's creed, and early showed his repugnance to its narrowness. He also found a tutor at the High School of Edinburgh, who interested him greatly, and in his diary he refers to him and his studies, in words so remarkable and shedding such a light on Scott's own character, that, although the passage is almost hackneyed, I will still venture to quote it. Scott describes his tutor as

A young man of an excellent disposition and a laborious student.

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\* "*Life of Scott.*" Edinburgh: Allen. 1834.

† A brother of the famous publisher.



He was bred to the Kirk, but unfortunately took such a strong turn to fanaticism that he afterwards resigned an excellent living in a seaport town, merely because he could not persuade the mariners of the guilt of setting sail of a Sabbath.

From this young man he learned all his youthful stock of divinity and Church history, and he adds:

A great acquaintance in particular with the old books describing the early history of the Church of Scotland [*i.e.*, the Kirk], the wars and sufferings of the Covenanters and so forth. I with a head on fire for chivalry was a Cavalier; my friend was a Roundhead. I was a Tory, he was a Whig. I hated Presbyterians, and admired Montrose with his victorious Highlanders; he liked the Presbyterian Ulysses, the dark and politic Argyle; so that we never wanted subjects of dispute, but our disputes were always amicable. In all these tenets there was no real conviction on my part, arising out of acquaintance with the views or principles of either party; nor had my antagonist address enough to turn the debate on such topics. I took up my politics, as King Charles II. did his religion, from an idea that the Cavalier creed was the more gentlemanly of the two.

His German studies brought him acquaintance with Goethe's "*Götz von Berlichingen*," which work of the towering mind of the German poet awakened his enthusiasm to an incomprehensible degree, and stamped its effect indelibly on his literary career. *Götz* is an embodiment of feudalism, and Goethe himself has confessed that in writing it he was only following on the track of Shakespeare. "'Tis true, 'tis pity, and pity 'tis 'tis true" that Scott followed Goethe and not Shakespeare. In *Götz* there are pictures of an abbot and a bishop, both self-seeking, time-serving and voluptuous, such as might be expected from the author; Shakespeare knew better and described better the older Catholic churchmen whom he may almost be said to have seen, heard, and touched. Assuredly Shakespeare would have been the safer guide. But although Scott has followed Goethe in his bishops and abbots, and produced many a noble *Götz*, brave Georges, gentle Marys, and good Elizabeths—here, in justice, it must be said the imitation ceases. The faithless and wanton Adelheid, the perjured Weislingen, the accessories of the adulterous bed and the poison-bowl, these elements of the so-called higher tragedy find no place in the immortal pages of Scott. The tragedy of "*The Bride of Lammermoor*" lives without them, and will live as long as language lives, and the purest maiden may lay a wreath in hallowed Dryburgh on the tomb of Walter Scott, secure that, in honouring his ashes, she is honouring the memory of one whose magic power awakened many high passions, who kindled in cold modern breasts the

chivalric fires of a forgotten time, but never allowed one ray of his genius to illuminate the shrine of unholy love.

So far I have dwelt upon Scott's early training, in order to show that from his dawning intelligence the light of the Catholic Church was excluded, and that when in later days he sought his devious path through her crumbling ruins in these lands, and beside her fallen altars, he was guided by another light than that which blazes in her own glorious firmament. On his marriage he quitted Presbyterianism, and became an Episcopalian, casting aside at the same time the narrow Sabbatarianism of the Scottish people of his day, without vouchsafing one word of explanation to his friends, and without losing the esteem of his faithful countrymen.

The "*Tales of the Crusaders*" must naturally claim the first attention from Catholics, for the Catholic Church alone did and could give birth to the movement known as the Crusades, the rising tide of which was irresistible, the impetus so powerful, that two centuries died out before the shores of Palestine echoed the sobbing ebb. A history of the Crusades which omitted the First would be about as complete as the Bible without Exodus. Scott has no story of the First Crusade, only some fleeting allusions to it in "*Count Robert of Paris*," which its author did not reckon in the list of his "*Tales of the Crusaders*." Yet what heroes for a romantic tale did not that First Crusade present! Let us look at them as they pass: Godfrey de Bouillon, Hugh of Vermandois, the good Knight Tancred, Count Raymond of Toulouse, the saintly Adhemar, warrior-prelate of Puy; the two Roberts, of Flanders and of Normandy; the two Baldwins and Bohemond, who led the Christian army through trial and triumph, in the face of Greek treachery and the teeth of fierce, exulting Mohammedan fanaticism, from the shores of the Bosphorus until they planted the Standard of the Cross upon the ramparts of Sion. Scott may have hesitated to tread the path which the muse of Tasso had rendered classic; but, whatever his excuse, I think it is indisputable that for Catholics his "*Tales of the Crusaders*" are lamentably inadequate.

By far the best of his stories of the Crusades, and one of the most fascinating and powerful of all Scott's novels, is "*The Talisman*." In scenery, character, motive, this work is one of the happiest emanations of his genius. The precedence of the English flag, the mutual jealousies of the leaders of the Third Crusade, and the efforts made to bring about a marriage between Saladin and the Lady Edith of Plantagenet, form the groundwork of the story. Historically, Scott is quite correct in the question of the precedence of the flag and the bitter rivalry of the Christian princes; and there is historical colour for the proposed marriage,

for Richard really endeavoured to marry his sister Jane, the widowed Queen of Sicily, to Malek-al-adel, brother of Saladin. Scott only uses the license of the poet in making the incident dramatic and romantic, by substituting Lady Edith and Saladin for the actual historical personages, thus giving him room for the play of his characters on a grand scale, in which his beloved countryman, David, Earl of Huntingdon and Prince-royal of Scotland, performs no insignificant part. The character of Saladin is so well portrayed that readers of history must almost stand aghast at the accuracy of the delineation, recalling as it does his marvellous power in this department of his art, so well illustrated in his life-like presentation elsewhere of Louis XI. It must also be admitted that his picture of the miserable dissensions in the Christian camp, which lost Palestine, are not one whit exaggerated. Still there are serious drawbacks in the estimation which Catholics must form of this novel which cannot be passed over, and the first is, the high level, in comparison with Christianity, to which Scott elevates Mohammedanism. The gross errors of this superstition are closely veiled, while everything adverse to the professors of Christianity is as carefully revealed. Scott must have known that Mohammed was an impostor, ignorant, licentious, mendacious, and bloodthirsty, who plagiarised from the Sacred Books of East and West, of Christian, Jew, and Pagan, to make up that contradictory and incoherent mass of doctrine called the Koran. Yet Mohammedanism shines in its glossiest coat in "*The Talisman*" to serve the purposes of romance. The mollah is put upon a level with the monk. Even the absurd fiction of Mohammed's ascent to heaven, upon which the creed of Islam rests, passes without rebuke.\* But I may leave this question, as happily it is not, at this time of the world's history, a burning one; but the fact that Christianity and Mohammedanism are certainly in this novel placed in comparison not too favourable to the former, merits at least this passing notice.

It must have been remarked by even careless readers how indifferently the character of Richard Cœur de Lion is presented, giving the effect of neutral tints. This most terrible of all the actors in the Crusades, barely rants without acting in "*The Talisman*," and becomes a mere foil for Saladin. The name of

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\* Mohammed propagated a false story of his night ascent to heaven, where he declared he saw the scroll, the watchword of his sect, "*La Ellah Ellalla, Mohammed resul Ellah.*" Ayesbah, his favourite wife out of fifteen, not including four slave concubines, gives a contradiction to the impostor by leaving on record where he spent the night in question. Mohammed indiscreetly said he had, in his journey on the white mule, visited the Temple of Jerusalem. Abu Jehel demanded a description of the Temple, which Mohammed could not give until he whispered to Abubeker to help him out.

the Melec-Ric spread such panic in the Moslem ranks, that Eastern tradition still preserves the legend, with Oriental exaggeration doubtless, that even the horses' manes bristled with horror, were it only whispered. His single arm literally hewed lanes through the hosts of Islam, the Saracens fled in hundreds before him, until one can well picture their fiery visages contracted with impotent rage, as they muttered all the maledictions of the Koran on his long sword and Cyprus barb. One noble only of that haughty and, until the Crusades, deemed invincible race, dared to face Richard in single combat; the lion-hearted settled the fray with a solitary stroke, by which he swept the head, one shoulder and arm, clean from the trunk of the luckless champion of the Prophet. But Richard in battle may have seemed to Scott too sanguinary for romance, and so he puts him in bed, by choosing the period of his illness for the time of his narrative. I would put this forward as certainly the reason which guided the novelist, if it were not that he presents in "*The Fair Maid of Perth*," with a detail so ghastly as to be inartistic, the battle between the two rival Highland clans. Richard's prowess undoubtedly forced Saladin to temporise with the Christians, but he achieved little compared with what might have been the case had he subdued his pride, and understood and acted upon the policy of a great general. He was no general, and unfit to be a leader—he was simply a gigantic knight of high principle, daring valour mingled with cruelty, rejoicing with the simplicity of a North American Indian in his unsurpassed bodily vigour. Philip of France was a worse man, but a better politician. Still the sympathy of posterity will be ever given to the open-hearted Englishman in preference to the crafty Philip. The oath of this degenerate monarch was passed to Richard, to leave the territories of the latter in peace until the termination of the Crusade, yet Philip went to Rome on his way to France, and sought by every means—even by fraud—to obtain release from his oath at the hands of the Supreme Pontiff. I will here give the answer of the Pontiff to Philip, because Scott is exceedingly fond of representing the Popes as being ready for mercenary considerations to use the power of the Keys in loosing from even more sacred vows than was the one made by Philip, those who approached the Holy See with gold or an equivalent. "From that oath," said the Pontiff, "which you swore to the King of England for the preservation of peace until his return, which as a Christian prince you ought to maintain without an oath, we by no means grant you absolution, but approving its rectitude and utility, we confirm it by our apostolical authority." \*

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\* William of Newburgh.

There is a quaint figure in "The Talisman," which must not be passed over: this is the so-called Hermit of Engaddi. He at once recalls Shakespeare's observation about "Nature's journey-men," whose creations imitated humanity so abominably. This hermit was a tall man, armed with a flail, and "clothed in goat-skins," who skulked behind trees, and skipped over rocks like the veritable goat itself. In all the histories of hermits there is nothing like him, except the goatskin, which on the authority of St. Paul we know these holy men sometimes donned. Scott unconsciously admits that his Hermit of Engaddi was, to say the least, an out-of-the-way character, for Kenneth, who was a devout Catholic, and from residence in the East must have known its solitaires, in external appearance, if no more,\* mistook this worthy man for the devil. It will be in the recollection of readers of the tale, that when the Saracen was overthrown by this lusty anchorite, who nearly strangled him, he reproached Kenneth for not coming to his aid, to which the latter replied:

By my word Saracen, if thou wilt have it in plain terms, I thought that strange figure was the devil; and being of thy lineage, I knew not what family secret you might be communicating to each other, as you lay lovingly rolling together on the sand.

Well, then, we may take it as certain that this was no true hermit, neither was he a priest, as both Kenneth and the Saracen † testify. Yet in the fifteenth chapter this madman turns up as a grave Carmelite friar, and hears confessions as a priest before the story ends. Am I wrong in concluding that we have before us neither priest nor hermit in this ascetic libel, who represents no concrete existence of any period? There would be no anachronism in styling him a Carmelite friar, if there was any admitting him within the pale of men who lived, or might have lived; but the nuns of Engaddi of the twelfth century could not have been, as described, professed nuns of the Order of Mount Carmel. The Carmelite Order for women had no existence until the fifteenth century, when they were first instituted by John Soreth, the then General of the Carmelite friars. Equally anachronistic is the Exposition of the *Vera Cruz*, which was then in the hands of the infidels, and were it not, with Richard Cœur de Lion in Palestine,

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\* The early hermits wore an under-garment of linen, a goatskin jacket (*pera*), and over this the *cuculla*, a hooded cape.

† Kenneth remarks that he has heard the hermit is no priest, this the Saracen confirms by observing the want of the tonsure. If he was tonsured his solitary existence in the desert would be quickly terminated by the Mohammedans, who were strictly commanded to exterminate priests, by Mohammed's immediate successor, which command he transmitted to his general, Yezid Ebn Abu Sofian.

we may be morally certain the True Cross would never be consigned to the keeping of nuns in a lonely, obscure grotto.

William, Archbishop of Tyre, a brave, pious, and long-suffering ecclesiastic, is represented in this novel as a schemer and a coward. Cowardice at least, or self-seeking, was neither of them a fault of the bishops of the Crusades. In the Chronicle of William of Newburgh we have the veritable account of Hubert, Bishop of Salisbury (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), who in the midst of ambushes and perils, unaccompanied by Richard, "visited for himself and for the prince the sepulchre of the King of kings; and pouring out there a deluge of pious tears, and performing Mass, he accomplished equally his own and the king's vows, to whom he returned."

The renowned Order of the Temple receives great attention from Scott. It is rarely he paints his villains wholly bad, but he approaches this very nearly in his portraiture of the unfortunate but brave Knights of the Temple. Much is related of them in "The Talisman," yet more in "Ivanhoe," but little of good in either. I shall have to dwell upon the history of this Order longer than I could wish, because it is very prominent in Scott, because there were many stainless military Orders excluded from his canvas, and because even the Catholic apologists of the Templars have been obliged to make serious reservations in explaining the conduct of this celebrated body, which ended its brilliant career under the solemn condemnation of the Church. I will make this general observation, however, first, I have no desire to appear as an apologist for the Templars, but merely to set forth briefly and candidly the information I have collected and sifted concerning them, avoiding as much as possible the beaten paths of popular knowledge, which generally means popular ignorance. Another remark I will make, and highly pertinent to my subject: Scott habitually, I do not say with design, but on account of the environment in which he lived, depicts the weaker side of Catholicism, and always represents its system as corrupt and its cause a fallen one. Hence, he has many Templars, not one Hospitaller. But what will you have? Look at the exigencies of romance, what a poor figure a brave, pious Knight of St. John would make by the side of a bold, bad Templar. One only good character does he present of this Order, the Grand Master in "Ivanhoe," Lucas, Marquis de Beaumanoir, and him he makes a dotard and ignorant bigot. The Grand Master in "The Talisman" is a very demon, slain by Saladin in the flower of his crimes, covered with sacrilege and double murder, the murder of soul and body of his infatuated dupe. This has been believed, and treated as historical. Now, the Grand Master in the days of Saladin committed none of the acts alleged in the horrible charge



made against him, which is purely fictitious, and he was not done to death by Saladin. The knight whom Saladin slew was a free-booter, who outraged Christian and Saracen alike. He was not a Templar. After the battle of Tiberias in A.D. 1185, Saladin made this man, known as the Lord of Carac (his proper name being Reginald de Chatillon), prisoner along with Guy de Lusignan and the Grand Master of the Templars. Guy offered some sherbet to Reginald in the presence of Saladin, who thereupon declared the traitor should not drink in his presence. The Lord of Carac replied in hasty words, Saladin stabbed him, and his guards completed the assassination. The act reflects no honour on the usually chivalrous Saladin, for Reginald was unarmed; but does dramatic license go so far as to permit a writer to heap the ignominy of a disgraceful robber-knight upon the Grand Master of the Templars? Scott places the Templars outside the pale of Christianity and chivalry, it therefore becomes imperative, while not disguising their faults, to show that they were outside neither, as a body. Some of their number held loose doctrines, doctrines sufficient to procure the suppression of the Order, but not to drive them all beyond the Christian border. From the dictates of chivalry, I think we shall see they never swerved.

I will only glance at their history; to write it would be to write a history of the Crusades. They were established in A.D. 1118 by Hugo de Payens and Geoffrey de Saint-Aldemar, with nine other French knights. They protected pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, and lived upon the alms collected in that duty, and therefore were generally called the "Poor Soldiers." Happy, indeed, would it have been for them and for Christendom had the slow poison of wealth been kept from them. Baldwin II. gave them a house within the Temple walls, from which they were called "*pauperes commilitiones Christi templique Salomonis*," later on the "*Ordo Templariorum*," whence comes the modern designation, Templar. Their confirmation as a military Order dated from the Council of Troyes A.D. 1127, and their Rule came from the spotless hand of the great St. Bernard. Their habit was a white robe,\* symbolical of purity, on which was a red cross to remind them of their oath to be ever prepared to shed their blood in defence of the Christian religion. They took the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and swore perpetual exile with war to the death for the Holy Places. Their terrible oath engaged them to meet all combatants, never to retreat before any odds, however great, to give no quarter and to take none. They

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\* In "*Ivanhoe*" Scott describes, in one place, the robe as red and the cross white, probably by inadvertence.

were divided into three classes : *milites*,\* or knights ; *armigeri*, or men-at-arms ; and *clientes*, who attended to domestic affairs. Their standard was the world famous *Beauceant*, whose floating folds for one hundred and seventy years carried tidings of horror and death to the heart of Islam. This flag was parti-coloured,† half black, half white, and inscribed with the words, "Non nobis Domine, non nobis sed nomini tuo da gloriam." Their famous war-cry came from the title of the standard, and their seal bore, in token of their poverty and humility, the figures of two knights upon one horse.‡ While all their vows were kept, their prowess was irresistible, and their name alone conquered hosts ten times their number. Those Saracen armies which they defeated were formed of men well trained in war, who mingled in their fierce characters the cruelty of the savage with the cunning of Eastern tribes, and the fanaticism of the Mohammedan superstition. Their deeds of daring in a chivalric age attracted to their standard the brave, the noble, and the wealthy, until the world marvelled at their increasing numbers, and kings trembled before the growing might of the unconquerable Templars. Good authorities have set down their annual revenue at four and a half millions, while the houses of the Order numbered in all the known parts of the world not less than nine thousand. They began to believe in themselves only, and as men do this their faith in the Divinity of Christ grows dim. It is the way of the world even now. For the Templars it was the way of destruction. Their humility vanished, their valour was unimpaired. Gaza, Tiberias, Damietta, Tyre, Egypt, and Acre, witnessed deeds achieved by them which no other body of men ever attempted. Scott does some justice to their bravery, but the quality is mingled with motives and means at once base and ignoble, which, in the protection of truth, let history rebut. Take one scene from their annals, at the close of their career in Palestine, when their Order must have been, if ever, degenerate.

It is a glorious morning of May A.D. 1291, and the rising sun mirrors on the Bay of Acre a line of warriors, four hundred thousand strong, under Sultan Chalil, extending from the mountain

\* Scott seems to have been under the impression that the knights were all priests. This was not so—only the chaplains were priests, the rest were simply bound, as regards devotion, to hear Mass three times a week, recite a certain daily Office, and communicate thrice every year.

† Some writers attribute the name *Beau-ceant* or *Beauseant* to this circumstance, it being a term applied to a parti-coloured palfrey in the days of the Crusades.

‡ "Eodem anno (A.D. 1118) incepit (sic) Ordo Templariorum, qui tantæ paupertatis erat primo, ut duo fratres unum equum equarent, quod hodierna die ad humilitatem excitandam in sigillo sculptur Templariorum."—Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes.

range of hoary Carmel to the walls of ancient Ptolemais. That is the host destined to blot out, even to its foundations, the devoted city on its front, and bury in its ruins the last vestiges of the kingdom set up in the Patrimony of the Crucified,\* who has declared His kingdom was not of this world. Within the walls of Acre are only a few thousand knights and men-at-arms—a mere handful in comparison with the legions of enemies swarming at the gates. But the knights within the walls are nearly all Templars and Hospitallers—they will fight with the enemy, however great his numbers. All that long summer day the fight goes on, and at night the proud Saracen retires from the walls discomfited and disheartened. But the King of Cyprus, who commanded at St. Anthony's Gate, grows frightened, flies in the darkness, takes shipping in the bay with his recreant soldiers, and by morning's light is out of sight of Acre. Meanwhile, all that weary night wild tales are told of Frankish valour around the camp fires of the infidels. The army will engage no further with them; they are not mortal, say these Saracens, for when you slay a Frank another issues fully armed from his mouth. Chalil hesitates, but is encouraged to renew the siege by some Europeans in his camp. He does so accordingly on the 18th of May, the next day, and the last for Ptolemais. Fierce is the onslaught, more general, more desperate, more destructive than on the preceding day. Thrice are his forces driven back, but deserted St. Anthony's Gate gives him a point of vantage. Myriads of Saracens are pouring through it, but the Templars, quick to perceive this, turn thither all their force, and drive the invading army back. There is nothing left, however, to do but carry the war into the enemy's heart, and see what one mighty rush may accomplish to save the city. One daring charge is made by the Templars followed by the Knights of St. John, each headed by its Grand Master. A thousand to one their enemies are around them. They fight like lions, but they fall. The first slain is the Grand Master of the Templars, the Hospitallers are cut down to almost the last man. A small band of the fiery Templars alone are left, a deserted island in a vast and surging ocean; suddenly they wheel, and high above the sounds of three hundred mighty Syrian tambours borne on as many camels, piercing the air and echoing over the bay, rises for the last time on the plains of Palestine the loud war-cry *Beauseant*! So rapidly is death dealt out to every opposing Saracen, it would seem as if a sudden pestilence and not a small troop of knights had fallen on the Sultan's appalled array. In with the invading forces, scattering corpses right and left, go the invincible Templars through St.

\* *Patrimonia Crucifixi*, often applied to Palestine in the Middle Ages.

Anthony's Gate, never drawing bridle until they have again entered within the walls of the Temple of Acre. Thither they dragged with them bands of Christians, to give them refuge from the worse than wolves outside. Fearful are the cries in that city, dread the despair as the invading hosts swarm within it, burning, ravishing, and murdering as they advance. At last they collect around and assault the Temple, but neither to numbers, rage, menace or blows will the undaunted Knights of the Temple yield. The enemy is driven to parley. Not for themselves, but to save those around them, the Templars at length surrender their swords, forgetful of their vow for humanity's sake, on condition that they and all under their protection are allowed to go free and unharmed. The Sultan accords the terms and would have kept his word, but his soldiers cannot be restrained, and on entering the Temple proceed to ravish the women found there. Unarmed the Templars rush upon the villain soldiery, regain their swords, and put to instant death the whole band. The enraged Sultan now turns all his forces and his engines on the Temple, but the heroic chevaliers still fight, until with thundering crash down falls the mighty tower of the fortress, burying them and those whom they defended in the ruins. So fought the Templars.

Now, it would seem to reasonable men only right that if an author chooses to paint only the black sheep of an institution, an age, or a nation, he ought not make them blacker than they really were. Another idea suggests itself: if the Templars were the black sheep in the mediæval Catholic fold, how pure, then, must have been the fleeces of the white! Indeed, one almost feels inclined to challenge the world and say: these dark Templars were our worst men; produce your most famous heroes; let us see if they were better, taking them "for all in all." In vindication of Scott, it must be said that in their later day the Templars had fallen upon an evil time, which brings evil tongues. It requires no proof now to show that Philip the Fair of France, in seeking the destruction of the Templars, in order to get hold of their property, defamed the Order before Europe, and formed the tradition of evil attached to their memory, which Scott has but reproduced, not indeed in all its grossness, for Scott had too delicate a mind for that. There is a disposition too, I fear, in all of us to believe too readily a tale of evil. The philosophical Quaker who revenged himself on the dog that he caught lapping his butter in the market-place understood this. "I will not beat thee, but I will give thee a bad name." So, letting the animal loose, he cried, "Mad dog!" and the unthinking populace soon ended the creature's life. A bad name works wonders in all reformations, and Philip the Fair was one of the reformers before

the Reformation, who was ready to commit iniquity for a consideration, and certainly should have his place in any future history dealing with those interesting individuals. I will now draw this account of the Templars to a close by quoting a passage from Philip's letter denouncing them to Pope Clement V. in A.D. 1307. He charges them with following a disgusting ritual of initiation, denying Christ, spitting at and trampling upon the crucifix, worshipping idols, practising the most heinous immorality, and omitting the essentials in performing Mass. All these charges were made by two malefactors lying under sentence of death. Of course they received their pardon. They were two Templars, the Prior of Montfauçon and another, ejected from this wicked Order for—not worshipping idols? No; for heresy and immorality.\* Philip ingeniously excuses to the Pope his renegade witnesses by suggesting—none so good to catch a thief as a thief. “Quid nunquam capitur lupus,” he says, “ita bene sicut ab illis qui deferunt lupinum pellem.” The Pope very sensibly declined to believe the charges made against the Templars, but ordered an inquiry, enjoining at the same time prayers to obtain the aid of the Holy Ghost. Philip did not wait for the inquiry; he burned fifty of the living knights, *pour encourager les autres*, put as many into prison and on the rack as he could reach, and finally seized their property. Pope Clement V., with the approval of the Council of Vienne, subsequently suppressed the Order, with great grief—“Non sine amaritudine et dolore,” are the words of the Bull. Philip was obliged by the Council to restore their property to other military Orders, and many of the much-abused Templars showed their sincerity by obeying the Pope

\* The document to which I refer, however, is not usually quoted in the histories of the Templars. Dupuy has not got it, and therefore it may be interesting to give an extract: “Nam confessi sunt et compertum est, quod illi, quando recipiunt aliquem ad Ordinem illorum, primo ad exequendum homines fideles illis, recipiunt intra Ordinem suum, amotis omnibus, exceptis fratribus ejusdem Ordinis, et adducunt illum ad locum privatum, et illum denudant totaliter, et tunc unus accedit ad illum, et eum osculatur in posteriori parte. Deinde induit et cingit eum corrigia de cambuco. Tertio, portatur crux, et ibi dicitur quod crucifixus non est Christus, sed quidam falsus propheta deputatus per Judaeos, propter delicta sua ad mortem; et faciunt ter spuer super illam. Et postea projicitur ad terram, et faciunt conculcari pedibus; et ista statuta et constitutiones suas observant inter se. Quinto ostendunt sibi caput ejusdem idoli, et illud cotidie adorant. Sexto, de vitio Sodomitico—quomodo statuunt quod nullus utatur mulieribus, sed quilibet utatur alterutro cum voluerint. . . . Item, nec Missa faciunt, nec alia, more Catholico.” It will be observed from the foregoing, which I extract from the letter to Pope Clement, as given in Rishanger's “*Historia Edwardi Regis Primi*,” that the horrible practices referred to were ordained in the statutes and constitutions of the Order. This is a sufficient refutation in itself of the charges; but I may ask further why Philip, who seized the movable goods of the Order, and the persons of its members, did not produce these statutes?

and joining the Hospitallers. A certain scepticism as to the Divinity of our Lord, taught by some among their number, opposition to crowned heads and bishops, seem to have been the reasons for this decision. So much has been said in regard to the Templars that less may now be said respecting any other religious Order, for they form the weakest link in the long and brilliant chain of Catholic associations.

I have connected "Ivanhoe" with "The Talisman" in the remarks just made, and before proceeding to offer a few observations on "The Betrothed," which is entitled a "Tale of the Crusaders," I will complete what I have to say respecting "Ivanhoe." This famous tale, although not of the series referred to, deals with the period in question, and has had a larger circulation than almost any tale, in every European language, and has been profusely illustrated by noted artists. It is a tale great in conception, but faulty in execution. The melodramatic end of Front-de-Bœuf, the resurrection of Athelstane, the impossible feats of Ivanhoe, and the absurd performances of the Prior, Gurth, and Wamba, place "Ivanhoe" below the first rank of Scott's novels. Prior Aymer, of Jorlvaux, is a character from which a Catholic revolts. He is an abandoned, voluptuous debauchee and buffoon in the garb of an ecclesiastic. Scott spares us the disgrace of making him a hypocrite, and all must have noticed that of the many hypocritical characters Scott has so well exposed, not one is a Catholic.\* This sad prior appears as the representative of the great Cistercian Order, at a time when that body was in the flower of its zeal and early purity, teeming, one may say, with saints. Fortunately Scott, by putting this miserable monk into the train of Prince John, quenches his existence. John hated the Cistercians for their devotion to his brother, and persecuted them equally with the Jews. They were foremost in raising money for Richard's ransom, and the Emperor offered them back three thousand marks, which their abbots unanimously refused as blood-money. In 1210 A.D. John levelled all the shafts of his anger at the Order, and so plundered and persecuted it, that the monks were reduced to begging their daily bread from door to door.†

The "Holy Clerk of Copmanhurst," a Franciscan, appears in this novel, and is one of the most humorous characters in all

\* This statement may appear too sweeping when the characters of Louis XI. and Rashleigh Osbaldistone are recalled; but profound as these are in dissimulation, they are not hypocrites after the canting fashion of, say, Joseph Tomkins in "Woodstock."

† In hoc anno res inaudita contigit, scilicet, monachi Cistercenses et Judaei, necessitate compulsi, hostiatim sibi mendicabant victualia. Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes. See the same author for further particulars as to Richard's benefactions and John's hatred to the Cistercians.



fiction. He is so great an anachronism, for he is exhibited as flourishing about fifty years before the Order of St. Francis was founded ; he is so evidently an unfrocked priest, and therefore not representative of the Catholic Church, that Catholic readers have long ago pardoned Scott for fathering upon their religion this rogue of a hermit.

Still, before quitting this great historical novel, I am tempted to ask what would our Catholic predecessors have thought of this romance as a picture of them, their times, and their modes of thought ?

I leave out of consideration the Jewish persecution, an inevitable corollary of the Crusades, for it would require an article to itself. Scott's delineation of the Jewess, Rebecca, is a faultless picture—beautiful, sympathetic, and dignified.

"The Betrothed," as a Tale of the Crusaders, is peculiar, for it has nothing to do with any Crusade, the period of the novel being the reign of Henry II., while the scene is Britain, not Palestine. There is evidence of haste and carelessness at the very start, for Giraldus Cambrensis is referred to as being Bishop of St. David's, which he never was ; but much more important for our consideration is the unwarrantable representation of the Pope as being ready to oblige the Prince of Powysland, by granting him a divorce from his lawful wife to enable him to marry Eveline Berenger. The actions of the Sovereign Pontiffs in regard to divorce are written largely in history, and speak for themselves. Divorces *a vinculo* have only been granted in the well-known cases of non-consummation, and where the parties by mutual consent sought the cloister ; but even if history were silent down to the sixteenth century, might we not reasonably conclude that Clement III. would not have granted to Gwenwynwyn of Powysland what Clement VII. refused to the mighty and despotic Henry VIII. of England ?

It must be evident to readers of Scott that there was, beside the feeling that he wrote for a people anti-Catholic to the core, something radically wrong in his conception of Catholicism. He failed, it seems to me, in grasping the principles of the Catholic Church, and hence lost, or never found, the logical sequence which guides her actions from century to century. He is never irreverent, as many foreign authors are, and some of our own, when he has to describe Catholic exercises of piety. His knowledge of these must have been very widely extended ; he misses the right expression, it is true, at times, but his characters talk so naturally of the beads, exorcisms, confession, absolution, and he so well portrays the Catholic anxiety for the last Sacraments, that one is at a loss to say how far Catholic rites and practices had taken hold of his imagination. Especially is his reverence re-

markable when he has to refer to the Mother of God—"the pure and blessed patroness," as, speaking in his own person, he calls her in "The Betrothed." St. Thomas of Canterbury is spoken of very slightly, however, in this novel; and Archbishop Baldwin, though more charitably described, still lacks the Catholic ring. He is not the Baldwin Catholics knew, for the author could not quite grasp the influence of the Catholic spirit, even on men by nature haughty. He describes this prelate, too, as a legate *a latere*; of course, Archbishop Baldwin was, and only could have been, *legatus natus*. Father Aldrovand is a fairly respectable character, so one must conclude that Scott forgot for the moment that he was describing a friar. He, unfortunately, is also an anachronism; he figures as a Dominican while St. Dominic was still a schoolboy, and his famous Order, of course, unheard of.

There is scarcely one of the Waverley novels, I believe not one, without some Catholic character. Even in the least Catholic of these voluminous compositions—"The Heart of Midlothian"—poor Effie Deans, when she reforms, is represented as entering the Catholic Church. It becomes apparent, therefore, that nothing short of large, complete annotations of each volume could do justice to the Catholic theme, if I may so call it, which makes its presence incessantly felt under the hand of this greatest master of romance. I have only examined the stories of the Crusades, and one other of that period, but so inadequately that I can only hope the day will come when an edition of Scott, not expurgated but annotated, will issue from the press of some Catholic publisher. Scott belongs more to us than to any other Christian body; and though the old religion is dwarfed in his pages, still I venture to say that any reader of his works will rise from their perusal knowing more of doctrine and practices, Catholic and Roman, than he will of the Thirty-nine Articles. Except in the case of the poor, persecuted Covenanters, Protestantism seems to have excited no enthusiasm in the breast of Sir Walter Scott. He is always more at home in the shade of Gothic cloisters, with the abbots and the monks and the friars. If he makes the latter more jolly than a Catholic can admit to have been usual, let it be remembered that Scott's temperament was anti-Pharisaical, and a friar who could be a boon companion was none the worse friar in his eyes. He never believed that men worked their salvation out by grimacing at heaven, and pulling long faces. This is very important to remember. Scott loved a sly joke too at the expense of the clergy, of whatever denomination; but he was never bitter. Take the following examples, chosen at random. The first is from the Appendix \*

\* Called in some editions an "Introductory Epistle," and probably correctly so.

to "The Monastery," where full justice is done to the good Benedictine and the monks of St. Maur:

"Then the gentleman is a scholar, David?"

"I've uphaid him a scholar," answered David; "he has a black coat on, or a brown ane, at ony rate."

"Is he a clergyman?"

"I am thinking no, for he looked after his horse's supper before he spoke o' his ain," replied mine host.

But although the Benedictine is so happily described in the Appendix, when his predecessors of Kennaquhair figure on the stage, in the text of the novel they receive less respectful treatment, and in "The Abbot" the tendency to jest gets the upper hand, as in the doggerel of Adam Woodcock, where we learn:

The friars of Fail \* drank berry-brown ale,  
The best that e'er was tasted;  
The monks of Melrose made gude kale  
On Fridays when they fasted.

I will but give one extract more illustrative of this side of Scott's character, and will take it from the Appendix to "The Monastery" above referred to, but the reader can find many in any of Scott's novels. Mattocks, the sexton, draws the Captain's attention to the Benedictine praying in the ruins of Melrose Abbey, and doubtful he may not have some other purpose than prayer, expresses an intention to watch him, as he could not understand why the monk remained "on his knees among the cauld stanes."

"I stole back and beheld the old man actually employed as Mattocks had informed me. The language seemed to be Latin, and as the whispered yet solemn accent glided away through the ruined aisles, I could not help reflecting how long it was since they had heard the forms of that religion, for the exercise of which they had been reared at such cost of time, taste, labour and expense. 'Come away, come away,' said I; 'let us leave him to himself, Mattocks, this is no business of ours.'

"'My certes, no, Captain,' said Mattocks; 'ne'ertheless, it winna be amiss to keep an ee on him. My father, rest his saul, was a horse-couper, and used to say he was never cheated in a naig in

\* Whether the "friars of Fail" had their ale so strong as to deserve commemoration, I will not venture to say, but if the allusion goes to indicate much wealth in their possession, it is not justified by the valuation about 1562 A.D. of their possessions. In Gordon's "Monasticon" it may be found, and was: £184 6s. 8d., 3 chalders of bear, 15 of meal, and 4 bolls, 30 stones of cheese, 10 sheep, 3 stirks, and 2 dozen grilse or salmon. I can trace the origin of the "gude kale" of Melrose to the Chronicle of this Abbey, where in an entry under A.D. 1261 "our venerable father Mathew, lord abbot of Melrose," is praised, because "it is through him that we have pittance loaves upon the Fridays during Lent, when we fast on bread and water."

his life, saving by a West-country Whig frae Kilmarnock, that said a grace ower a dram o' whisky. But this gentleman will be a Roman, I'se warrant.'

The period of Scottish history illustrated by "The Monastery" and "The Abbot" may be taken to embrace about fourteen years from A.D. 1554 to 1568. It was the saddest period for the "Friars of Fail" and the "Monks of Melrose," as well as for the whole Catholic Church in Scotland, to be found in all the eventful annals of that land. "These are not the days of Peter the Hermit," Scott makes Morton remark, "when monks could march armies from England to Jerusalem." And truly they were not. The Lords of the Congregation would have had but short shrift from the stern Crusaders, whose faith appalled the fierce Moslem on his throne, for well the Saracen knew that the lowliest man-at-arms in the mighty Christian hosts, loved better a narrow grave in Palestine than a long life in the lordliest palace of Frangistan.

Friends and foes alike, of the old Scottish Catholic Church, admit that in the period treated of in these novels, very many abuses existed. These have been so ably and impartially exposed in Bellesheim's "History of the Church of Scotland," translated by D. Oswald Hunter Blair, O.S.B., that it is superfluous to here say more on this head. Dr. Bellesheim shows clearly that the system of making men bishops because their fathers were high and titled, not because they were qualified, of commendatory abbacies and the like, brought the first wave of ruin on the stately Scottish Church; the rest was easily done, first by the degenerate nobles, and for the finish, when sank the wreck below the waves of time, by Knox and his leonoclastic accomplices. A strain of tender melancholy pervades both "The Monastery" and "The Abbot"; it has the solemnity of a requiem combined with sympathetic regret for the fall of the old Church. The public received neither work with real favour, and nothing but the singular fame of the author of Waverley could have procured readers in his day for either. The British public could then associate nothing with a monastery but dungeons, stripes, impurities and secret murders; it was therefore startled at finding the worst character to be only the ease-loving, careless and pompous Abbot Boniface. Abbot Eustatius—learned, energetic, pious and ascetic, a frail frame enshrining the spirit of a martyr—was utterly incomprehensible to an age steeped in the waves of that complexity of social errors which flowed in the enormous hollows, sunk deeply into the breast of civilisation by those three volcanic eruptions of error—the pseudo-Reformation, the pseudo-classic Renaissance, and the false glares of that liberty-extinguishing French Revolution. Yet Scott was more historic than ever he was in these two characters; Abbot Boniface, the picture of the indolent ecclesiastic

who hid his pound in a napkin and was condemned even out of his own mouth—type of too many on the eve of the Reformation—and Abbot Eustatius, the champion of the Church drawn on the pattern of Archbishop Hamilton, Bishops Reid or Dunbar, or him whom Scott intended he should represent, the famous and holy Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel. The sympathy of Scott, too, went out to these champions of the old faith, for in the degenerate days in which they lived, they were the bulwarks of patriotism in his own land, who fought to the last, as all their predecessors had done, even to blood at Pinkie, for the independence of old Scotland. When the nobles took the gold of Henry VIII., when preachers plotted murder at his bidding,\* the much belied priests held aloft the old Scottish flag, and so they continued to hold it until the day when their queen, in innocence, gave herself and them to the "she-dragon," who laid low for ever the royalty of Scotland.

Much could be written for which there is no place here on these two novels; many passages are not such as Catholics can accept, but many more gave high offence to their adversaries. One modern critic, in editing these works, attributes their tone to Scott's prejudice in favour of an aristocratic creed. There are blemishes, from the artistic point of view, more especially in "*The Monastery*," that detracted from their value as literary productions. The *White Lady of Avenel* was considered too fantastic for a serious historical novel, and the public taste was offended by the prominence given to the idiotical coxcomb, Sir Piercie Shafton. There is good ground for both objections. The *White Lady* was evidently suggested by a passage in the "*Chronicle of Melrose*" where it is related that when Adam de Harcarres was Abbot, a monk of the house had a vision of Our Lady "clad in a most beautiful but an exceedingly delicate and seamless garment of the purest white." Scott unfortunately does not make his lady either saint, angel, or demon, but a whimsical creature, half human, half fairy. The name Avenel occurs in the *Chronicle*, as also does the name Ingeram, which latter may have suggested the patronymic of Abbot Ingelram. In the days when "*The Abbot*" was written the fair fame of Mary Queen of Scots had not been vindicated, as it now happily is, and Scott deserves great credit for his tender and sympathetic presentation of this religious, beautiful, but unfortunate Queen. The cruel fanatic Knox he does not depict, but in Halbert Glendinning may be found many traits recalling Kirkaldy of Grange. The preacher,

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\* George Wishart was one of the party at whose head were the Earls Cassilis, Glencairn, and Marshall, who conspired with Henry's connivance to assassinate Cardinal Beaton.

Warden, is too subdued to be an accurate type of the fanatical gossellers of that period ; while the half profiles of the treacherous Moray and the murderous Morton reveal but little of their real characters.

The genius of Sir Walter Scott was cast in the anti-revolutionary mould ; he loved the ancient and the grand. He had the power of discerning the noble and the beautiful, and the rarer power still of transforming what he beheld, by the gift of ideality, into pictures of romantic fascination. But because of this very ideality, he was little qualified to produce in its angular precision the bold structure of history ; his fancy raised the plain roof into the soaring fretted vault, the simple tower he winged with buttresses, crowned its lofty brow with battlements, and raised upon its crest the graceful spire that seeks the firmament, leaving earth behind. Hence, in perusing Scott the mind insensibly feels elevated into a purer atmosphere. He possessed a profound knowledge of character, therefore his characters live—if some of them could have never lived elsewhere—in his pages, at least, they do live, and the firmness of his strokes in their delineation have made the creations of the Waverley novels immortal. For Catholics, of whom he has written so much, his works must ever retain a transcending interest, and if he has not always done them justice, they will still gratefully recollect that, like the good genius of a fairy tale, his mighty arm made the first breaches in the magic wall of evil prejudice that shut them away from their fellow-countrymen. He was not a Catholic, but as Moses on Mount Nebo saw with his dying eyes the goodly land he might not enter, so Scott when the end was near, looking on the last religious ceremonies he should ever witness on earth, cast his pleased gaze on the high solemnities of the Catholic Church ; and almost the last words on his lips were the hymns of her noble Latin liturgy. He sleeps, too, with the monks in ivied Dryburgh, and calling to mind our near associations with him in life and in death, it seems fitting we should remember him also, when we remember them—

Lacrymosa dies illa  
Qua resurget ex favilla  
Judicandus homo reus.  
Huic ergo parce Deus :  
Pie Jesu Domine,  
Dona eis requiem.

THOMAS CANNING.



## ART. VII.—EVOLUTION AND DETERMINISM.

*The Philosophical Basis of Evolution.* By JAMES CROLL,  
LL.D., F.R.S. London: Edward Stanford.

NOT many months have elapsed since the scientific world mourned the death of James Croll. An able and painstaking student of Nature, an eminent geologist, and a thoughtful philosopher, the author of several works, he made his reputation principally by an "Essay on Climate and Time," in which he attempted to account by astronomical causes for the secular changes of climate that have left their record on the Earth's surface; and though these form no part of our present subject, we may, perhaps, be permitted briefly to indicate their nature. There is a geological phenomenon which has to be accounted for in one way or another, and that is what is commonly termed the glacial period. A large portion of Europe, including at least the northern half of England, was at one time in a condition of climate more nearly resembling that of the Arctic regions than the equable and temperate state of things with which we are now so familiar. Croll's theory depends on certain undoubted astronomical facts, the only question being whether the inference drawn from them is sufficiently well grounded. The Earth moves in an orbit of elliptic form, but the ellipse in which (approximately speaking) it revolves, is subject to variation. The major axis is constant in its length, but it is steadily though slowly shifting its position in space, and moving eastwards, that is, in the same direction that the Earth is moving. The Earth itself also is slowly and gradually changing its position by a kind of reeling motion, which has been compared, not inaptly, to that of a spinning-top, a motion which causes the phenomenon known as the precession of the equinoxes; and these two movements combined have the effect of reversing the Earth's position with respect to the Sun in about 10,000 years; that is to say, instead of the Earth's nearest approach to the Sun taking place, as is now the case, early in January, in the midst of our winter in the northern hemisphere, it took place 10,000 years ago in July, at the height of our summer, and will again do so 10,000 years hence. That means that the northern hemisphere 10,000 years ago had a hotter but shorter summer. The difference between the summer half-year, counting from equinox to equinox, and the winter half is now eight days; and it is to be noted that (whether from this cause or some other) the cold of the Antarctic region is decidedly greater, so it is said, than that of the corresponding region in the north. But here comes the important point urged by Croll.

Owing to the action of the other planets on the Earth, besides the above-mentioned changes in position, there is one more variation—namely, one that affects the shape of the orbit itself. During a long period of years the orbit approaches more and more near to a circle, which, however, it never actually becomes, and then the reversed process commences, and it becomes again gradually more and more eccentric; thus there comes a time—so it has been more than once in past ages, and so it will be in the distant future—when the eccentricity of the orbit attains a maximum, and there may be a difference between the summer and winter half-years, not of a week or so, but nearly of a month. As long as this great eccentricity lasted, and we do not accurately know how many thousand years that was, the northern and southern hemispheres would alternately undergo the cold of a long winter, and that at a distance from the Sun much beyond anything of which the modern inhabitants of our globe have an idea. Then a huge ice-cap would be formed, spreading far down from the pole into the temperate zone, and the Sun, during the short, hot summer would only very partially melt it. There may thus have been several glacial periods in our own hemisphere.

Such was Croll's theory. It was, however, controverted by certain geologists and others, and he wrote another work in reply to them. It is worthy of note that Sir Robert Ball, the Astronomer-Royal for Ireland, at the recent meeting of the British Association, said that Dr. Croll had understated the evidence for his theory through some error in figures, meaning (as we understood him) that the periods of great eccentricity of the earth's orbit were spread over a longer series of thousands of years than Croll had supposed. Sir Robert Ball strongly shares his opinion about the glacial epoch.\* We do not ourselves presume to give any opinion on the matter, beyond repeating what we have already hinted, that there must be considerable doubt as to the causes to which we have alluded being of themselves sufficient to account for this mighty ice-cap. Climate depends on various circumstances besides astronomical conditions, such as winds and ocean currents; and many geologists, we think, would tell us that the only glacial period of which we have distinct evidence occurred probably at a more recent date than would be compatible with Croll's theory.

We must now apologise to our readers for having dwelt so much on this topic, our object having been not to discuss a subject irrelevant to our present inquiry, but to show what a high reputation as a man of science the late Dr. Croll enjoyed; so that the

\* It is perhaps worth remarking that a considerable discussion is now going on among scientific men on both sides of the Atlantic about the glacial period: we believe that the American geologists are rather opposed to Croll's theory, attributing the phenomenon to certain geographical causes.

work which we are now reviewing, apart from its intrinsic merits, may well deserve attention from the character of its author, who wrote it but a short time before his death—his final bequest to the world of philosophic thought.

The great object of the book is to show that evolution, of whatever kind, cannot be produced merely by matter, motion, and force; but that "the grand principle" of it is "Determinism." The author, however, explains that he does not use this word in the limited sense in which it is frequently employed to designate the doctrine that the human will is always determined by the strongest motive, and is, therefore, not truly free. He also guards himself against being understood to use the word "determination" in its ordinary sense of implying *action* :

Determination [he says], in the sense in which I have used the term, cannot be conceived to be of the nature of any act. It is not the act, but the adjustment of the way in which the act happens. It is not motion, but the particular direction of the motion, or the particular moment when the motion takes place.

He appears, we ought to say, to employ the two words *determinism* and *determination* indifferently. The great object of the author is to show, as against certain physicists, that force cannot determine force, or matter determine matter; but that there must be a determining principle apart from these to adjust the forces and to direct the motion of matter.

Questions such as these cannot be fully discussed without also considering the previous question—What is matter? and again—What is force? Now, in the work before us we have an account of various theories of matter, on which it is not necessary to dwell, and we would refer those readers who are interested in these speculations to the book itself. We may, however, observe that although it is easy to give a popular description of matter by defining it as that which may be cognisable to our senses, yet, as the further question might be asked—What are our senses? it is not at all easy to give a *perfectly* good scientific definition. Professor Tait, in his work on "The Properties of Matter," gives a list of definitions by different writers, including the one "whatever can be perceived by our senses, especially that of touch," no one of which is quite satisfactory. Then as to force, our author does not distinctly define the sense in which he employs the word. Whewell, in his "Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences," says: "The two conceptions, Force and Matter, are co-existent and co-relative"; and, "we adopt the term *Force*, and use it to denote that property which is the cause of motion produced, changed, or prevented." Dr. Croll, in the present work, quoting the opinion of Lange, says: "The ideas of matter and force, as applied to Nature, can never be separated."

Further on he adds: "Since, according to Lange, matter, as far as it can be analysed, is resolvable into force, and since that which cannot be resolved remains a *substance*, it is obvious that matter cannot be a determinator, whether viewed as force or substance. For, according to this theory, could we carry our analysis sufficiently far, the substance or matter remaining would become resolved into force." Professor Tait, in the work just alluded to, cautions us that the word Force (which he is often obliged to use) is not a term for anything objective, though "almost all, even of scientific men, still cling to the notion" of its being so. The definition of matter which he himself adopts for convenience sake, and as not being obviously incorrect, is this: "Matter is whatever can occupy space." The word Force is, perhaps, used by modern writers in a wider sense than that given by Whewell. We need scarcely say that we are speaking merely of physical force, and not of what is termed moral force.

To return to our author. His meaning with respect to *determination* will be made more clear by some of his illustrations. For instance, he takes the case of crystals. It is generally believed that the particles or molecules of which they are composed are of a certain definite shape; that they attract one another at certain definite points or along certain definite lines; that they cohere in a fixed and definite manner, and a figure in crystalline form is the result. Force, therefore (supposing the above-given theory to be true), does no more than draw the molecules, and hold them together in the crystalline state. The form of the crystal is not due to the force, but to the original "shape of the constituent molecules, together with the fact that they attract one another at definite points. Consequently that which determined the form of the crystal is not the force, but that something, be it what it may, which is the cause why the molecules have such a shape, and why their attraction is confined to the definite points on the surface of the molecules."

One of the best illustrations Dr. Croll gives is the parallelogram of forces. Some unwise opponent brought forward this well-known theorem as a difficulty for him to answer, and it is obviously a strong instance in his favour. Let it be remembered that here we suppose two forces bearing upon a point to be represented, so far as their magnitude is concerned, by the lengths of two straight lines; and that two other lines being drawn parallel to them, the diagonal of the parallelogram so formed represents the resultant force. Now our author says:

I have been asked—Is not the determination of the resultant force, in magnitude and direction, effected by the magnitude and direction of the components? The reply is: Certainly; the deter-

mination is effected by the *magnitude* and *direction* of the component forces; but this is simply saying that the determination is effected, not by the forces, but by the determination of the forces. *Magnitude* and *direction* are not forces, but certain determinations of forces. *Magnitude* is the *determined quantity*. *Direction* is the *determined path* taken by the forces. Consequently it is the determination of the component forces, not the forces themselves, that determine the resultant force.

Or, as we should rather state it, assuming forces of a given magnitude to be acting on a given point, the direction of those forces must be the consequence of some kind of determination, apart from the magnitude of the forces, and the resultant varies accordingly; as, indeed, any one who will take the trouble to draw a number of parallelograms in which the lines shall be always of the same magnitude, but the angles at which they meet different in each case, may ascertain clearly for himself.

Dr. Croll gives other illustrations of his meaning, and says that more might be given. In one place he takes the opportunity of answering Professor Tyndall's well-known objection to prayer for a change of weather, which he says arises from the misleading character of the idea that the forces of Nature are determined by force.

To ask for a change in the weather is, according to him [*i.e.*, Professor Tyndall] to ask for an infringement of the law of conservation, just as truly as it would be were we to pray that water might flow up hill. Now to give us fair weather for foul requires merely a different determination in the forces which now exist; and, unless force is determined by force, no new creation of force, not even an expenditure of force, is required. But, in addition, the objection is as far wrong in physics as in philosophy. All matter under every form is in motion. But no energy or expenditure of power is absolutely necessary to direct or deflect this motion either to the right hand or to the left. All that is required is that the deflecting force should act at right angles to the direction in which the particle of body is moving. Deflection to any amount can thus be produced without work. . . . All the alterations in Nature required to give us a change of weather may thus be brought about without any loss of energy.

We may, however, observe that the objection in question admits of being stated in another shape, more forcible perhaps than that here quoted. It may be urged that the weather depends on the wind, and that the winds are caused by the movements of bodies of air, apparently variable, but really following fixed laws; that to pray for a change in these is in fact to pray for a miracle—and this an ordinary Christian (putting aside the case of great saints and prophets) cannot without presumption do. Thus no one we suppose would venture to pray for the abolition of the trade

winds. The objection in this way stated might be made by a Theist, or even by a believer in Christianity. But we think it arises from an imperfect appreciation of the prescience and omnipotence of God. Whatever the laws may be on which the winds depend, they were ordained by an Omnipotent Being, who foresaw not only the results of these laws, but foresaw also every prayer that would be offered by His creatures as long as the world may last. With God we must remember there is an eternal *present*; the conditions and contingencies accompanying His laws are all known to Him before the laws ever come into operation. Whatever effect human prayer has had in modifying any of His laws, it had it countless ages ago, before Time (as we know it) began. It may however be added that we are not so sure after all that the laws on which the winds depend are fixed in that rigid sense in which (for example) the laws of gravitation are so. And this apparently is what Dr. Croll means in the passage we have quoted above. A somewhat similar answer was given, we believe, in the pages of this REVIEW some twenty years ago by the late Dr. Ward.

As before stated, our author proceeds to discuss the different theories of matter, into which we cannot here enter in detail, but his object is to show that "matter cannot determine matter."

What, then, is *determination* in the sense in which he uses the term?

It cannot [he says] be conceived to be of the nature of any act. It is not the act but the adjustment of the way in which the act happens. It is not motions, but the particular direction of the motion, or the particular moment when the motion takes place. Determination [he adds], by an act, whether it be an act of thought or an act of the will, is just as impossible and as inconceivable as determination by a force. . . . It is just as impossible to conceive the will being determined by an act, or the determination of the will being an act, as to conceive the motion of the cannon-ball being determined by the explosion of the powder. It is difficult to say whether in the physical or the mental world the distinction is of more importance.

He proceeds to explain that since a body cannot move without moving in some direction, but it may do so without moving in any one particular direction, and since there is in most cases an infinite number of ways in which an act may take place—determination (in his sense of the word) is the deciding which of all these possible determinations shall take place; and in the case of motion, which direction amongst the infinite number of directions in which a body can be moved, shall be taken. "The determinations which take place in Nature occur not at random, but according to a plan—an objective idea."



In the formation, say, of the leaf of a tree, no two molecules move in identically the same direction, or take identically the same path. But each molecule must move in relation to the objective idea of the leaf, or no leaf would be formed. The grand question, therefore, is : What is it that selects from among the infinite number of possible directions the proper one in relation to this idea ?

Though determination may be regarded as equivalent to *selection*, yet the latter word implies thought or choice, and he does not think it right to *assume* will or intelligence to be concerned in selection, this being a thing to be proved. Otherwise the word selection would convey the meaning well enough. Dr. Croll goes on to discuss determination in relation to the human will, and maintains that we must not confuse the act of the will with the determination of the act ; this, however, is the part of his work in which we find it most difficult to follow him, and we will recur to it later on.

He speaks with great clearness on causation :

This principle is unquestionably a first truth. . . . It is self-evident. . . . It is *à priori*, and not derived from experience. The principle does not affirm that everything must have had a cause. It simply affirms that everything which *began to be*, or *came to pass*, must have had a cause.

This reads as if it were put in to safeguard the doctrine of an eternal self-existing Being—that is, of God. After touching on the supposed exceptions to the principle of causation brought forward by Kant and by Mill, he comes to the subordinate principle, that “the same cause, acting under the same conditions, will always produce the same effect.” He says this, too, “is a necessary truth, not, however, primitive but derived.” It is plain that the only exception to this that we can imagine arises from human free will, and he does not allow that this is any exception.

“The principle of casuality,” he adds, “is of far greater importance and generality than that of the persistence of force.” This is in reference to opinions advanced by Mr. Herbert Spencer and some of his followers. He takes the First Law of Motion for an illustration, and maintains that it follows as a necessary consequence from the principle of causality :

The persistence of force will guarantee that the motion of the body will remain uniform, but it will not guarantee that it will keep the straight line. The principle of causality, however, guarantees both. . . . The mere *absence* of a cause to turn the body aside will make us more certain that it will keep the straight line, than if it were hemmed in on every side by walls of adamant.

Some of our readers will remember that the First Law of

Motion formed part of the discussion between Mill and Whewell, more than forty years ago, as to whether our knowledge comes entirely by experience, or whether there are certain primary truths which our minds intuitively perceive, and which (though perhaps taught us by our experience in the first instance) are in reality independent of all experience.

Mill denied this to be the fact, even with the geometrical axioms, and particularly with the one which seemed to be selected as a crucial test. "Two straight lines cannot enclose a space;" his great argument being that the mental pictures which we form to convince ourselves of this axiom, are in reality a kind of experience, and may properly be so considered; Whewell, however, remarks that he does "not deny that the activity of the mind by which it perceives objects and events as related according to the laws of space, time, and number, is awakened and developed by being constantly exercised," and he admits that "in this way experience and observation are necessary conditions and pre-requisites of an apprehension of geometrical (and other) axioms. We cannot see the truth of those axioms without some experience, because we cannot see anything, or be human beings, without some experience." He objects to the word *Induction*, as used by Mill, or others, and as applied to the process of mind by which we become convinced of the truth, the necessary and irreversible truth, of these axioms. The question in its various bearings has of course been discussed by other able writers besides the two just mentioned, and readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW cannot forget the powerful articles contributed to it by Dr. Ward during the period of his editorship, on the subject of necessary truths. Now, without going at great length into this matter, we may say that bearing in mind the qualification we have here quoted from Whewell's "Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences," and which it would be folly to ignore, we think it has been sufficiently shown that the geometrical axioms, and especially the one which states: "Two straight lines cannot enclose a space"—to which may be added certain arithmetical axioms—are not properly said to be inductions from experience, but necessary truths, such indeed as no amount of experiment ever could overthrow or modify. But it is otherwise when we come to consider that great mechanical law, which ever since the time of Newton has been known as the First Law of Motion.

Let us take it as thus stated, "Every body perseveres in its state of rest or of uniform motion in a straight line, except so far as it is compelled by forces to change that state." Now we may well admit that, given the law of causation, and given what we know from observation and experience of the laws of matter—it follows as a necessary and inevitable consequence. But, without

observation and experiment on the laws that regulate force and matter, it seems more than doubtful whether we ever could have arrived at it. The old idea that the force which propelled a body acted as a kind of impulse, driving the body on for a time, and gradually dying away—though we now know it to be false—has nothing intrinsically absurd about it. The ancients held it, and indeed it prevailed till the time of Galileo, who we believe was the first that seized the true doctrine on the subject, and that rather as a probable hypothesis than an undoubted truth. What is more, even now a vast multitude of men, including perhaps many well educated men, whose minds have been engrossed by other subjects, as well as others who might know better, are still ignorant of the true law. All experience of terrestrial objects pointed in the direction of the old and fallacious idea to which we have just alluded; everything that was put in motion by any force seemed to stop of itself after a time, and it was by a consideration of the motions of the heavenly bodies, and also by becoming more clearly acquainted with the action of such forces as gravitation, friction, and atmospheric resistance, that men of science acquired a clear conviction of the sound doctrine which teaches us that a body, when once put in motion by a force, continues for an indefinite time in its course, until a fresh force deflects or arrests it. We do not, therefore, think that we can consider the First Law of Motion as a primary or necessary truth, or that we can adopt Dr. Whewell's words when he says: "Though the discovery of the First Law of Motion was made, historically speaking, by means of experiment, we have now attained a point of view in which we see that it might have been certainly known to be true, independently of experience." Nevertheless, with the limitations and conditions already stated, we fully grant that it is certainly deducible from the law of causation. We have been led into something like a digression, but our readers must excuse it, considering the importance and interest attaching to the subject.

We now return to our author, who proceeds to inquire what is the cause of determination? That is, of course, in the sense in which he employs the word. He answers:

The immediate cause of determination is unquestionably the pre-arrangement or pre-adjustment of the antecedent conditions. . . . The state of the universe [again he says] at any moment was inevitably determined by its state the moment before. . . . The evolution of the universe may be regarded as consisting of a double process, the one the production of change or events, the other their determination. The two processes are inseparably connected, for a change cannot possibly take place without, at the same time, taking place in some determinate manner.

He devotes two chapters to Mr. Herbert Spencer and his theories.

Evolution consists [he says] of two grand factors (1) mind, matter motion, and force; and (2) the determination of mind, matter, motion, and force. . . . Of these two, the latter is by far the most important.

Then, as determination is the more important, he calls it the right factor, and mind, matter, &c., the left factor.

The persistence of force is Mr. Spencer's fundamental principle, in fact the very keystone of his system. The universe is supposed by Mr. Spencer to be the conditional manifestation of an absolute power, a power utterly unknowable to us, an unconditional reality without beginning or end. . . . According to Mr. Spencer, all scientific conceptions, such as matter, motion, and force, time and space, rest ultimately on the insoluble. . . . Force he regards as the ultimate of ultimates. Mr. Spencer, it appears, concludes that the law of evolution is deducible from the persistence of force. The factors of this law are transformation and equivalence of forces; motion follows the line of least resistance, and motion is universally rhythmic.

To Dr. Croll, however, it seems that Mr. Spencer has got on an entirely wrong path, and that evolution is the result, not of force, but of the way in which force is *determined*. He says: "It is probable that all the energies and forces of Nature are the same in their essential nature, and differ only in their determinations." He illustrates the transformation of energy by the way in which heat may be evolved from chemical combinations, and mechanical power from heat. "Chemical combination will produce an electric current; the electric current will produce magnetism; and the magnetism will produce motion in a machine; and the machine will generate heat or perform work. Here we have the energy assuming in succession five or six different forms. . . . The difference lies, therefore, not in the force or energy itself, but in its *determination*." Mr. Spencer has urged that, where attractive forces are concerned, movement takes place in the direction of their resultant, which may be called the line of greatest traction. In the case of repulsive forces, motion again takes place in the direction of their resultant, which is usually known as the line of least resistance. And, where both attractive and repulsive forces are at work, motion will be in a direction which is the resultant of the whole. All this is obviously true in mechanics; and it may also be true that organic growth takes place along the lines of least resistance.

But [Dr. Croll asks] what determines the lines of least resistance in relation to the organism? If a tree is to be formed, the lines of least resistance must be all determined and adjusted in

relation to the objective idea of the tree, of the root, of the branches, of the leaves, of the bud, of the fruit, and of every part of the tree. But this is not all; the tree is built up molecule by molecule, each of which requires a special determination; and beyond all this, we have the structureless protoplasm, which must be differentiated according to the objective idea of the whole."

Our author devotes some further space to the consideration of Mr. Herbert Spencer's theories; and those who are interested specially in these will do well to peruse carefully his criticisms on them. We do not propose to dwell on them further ourselves; but we will proceed to the next position of the work, one of the most interesting in fact of the whole—that in which Croll considers "Determinism in relation to Darwinism." He goes so far as to say that "Darwinism is out and out a theory of determination, and in this lies the great secret of its power." We wonder what Darwin would have said if he had heard such a statement made. Dr. Croll, however, takes Mr. Wallace's work on "Darwinism" as giving the fundamental principles of the theory, and his comments on it are well worthy of attention. The theory of Natural Selection rests on two main classes of facts, the first being the enormous increase (in geometrical progression) possessed by all organisms, and the second the occurrence of individual variations, combined with the hereditary transmission of such variations. There is thus a constant struggle for existence, a vast number of organisms dying, and comparatively few living, which variation gives scope for the action of Natural Selection. If, then, by this means we have the existence secured of that variation which is best suited to its environments, and if such variation is hereditary, the consequence results that generation after generation the species will improve, and rise gradually to a higher platform. Now Dr. Croll maintains, granting all this to be true, that Natural Selection is in every case a process of determination.

It determines who shall live and who shall die. It selects who is fit and who is unfit to undergo the struggle for life. . . . Natural Selection is simply a part of that universal determinism which constitutes, not only evolution, but the whole process of Nature, organic, inorganic, mental, and moral. . . . There are certain fundamental facts or principles belonging to Darwinism which Natural Selection certainly cannot explain, because they are conditions to the existence of Natural Selection itself. . . . The principles to which I refer are (1) the multiplication of the offspring in geometrical progression, (2) the variability of species, and (3) heredity, or the transmission of variations. It would be reasoning in a circle to attempt to account for these by means of Natural Selection. . . . By Natural Selection the best will be picked out and preserved, while the rest will perish in the

struggle. . . . This is all that Natural Selection will do. . . . Nor can it even do this, for there is in reality no actual selection, no actual picking out of the particular forms to be preserved. . . . A mass of organisms are struggling with each other for existence. The greater part of these perish in the struggle, leaving those best fitted for the battle to possess the field. Natural Selection, when thus viewed, is simply the survival of the fittest.

Then, as to variability :

A question of primary importance is this : Is variability indefinite or definite ? . . . The opinion now appears to be gaining ground that variability is definite, and is determined in certain directions rather than in others by conditions inherent in that which varies.

And he quotes Professor Huxley's words :

A whale does not tend to vary in the direction of producing feathers, nor a bird in the direction of producing whalebone.

Further on, however, he observes that the preponderance of opinion amongst Darwinians—we suppose he means Natural Selectionists of the pure type—is at present in favour of indefinite variation. Indeed, it seems to us difficult to understand how their system can hold its ground without indefinite variation.

After carefully reviewing the opinions of various naturalists, Mivart, Darwin, Wallace, Lange, and others, Dr. Croll states his own conclusion that "every result of Natural Selection is due to Determinism and Determinism alone." And further that "the personifying of Natural Selection tends to mislead." That Natural Selection is a necessary condition of evolution, but not the efficient cause of it. His argument on this head is most interesting, for he quite admits the fact of evolution, or at least does not dispute it, and his contention is against *Natural Selection* as an efficient cause. If, he argues, it is simply the survival of the fit from the destruction of the unfit, it is obvious that it can produce nothing. It may be a *condition* in the formation of an organ, but, from its very nature, it cannot possibly be a producing *cause*. He states briefly but fairly the case of the Natural Selectionists, but maintains, on the other hand, that at any rate "everything is produced by the inherent powers and forces possessed by the organisms themselves. . . . What Natural Selection does is simply to select the best specimens on which these inherent tendencies may act. . . . To supply the proper materials, by simply destroying the bad, and thus allowing the fittest to survive."

He considers Darwin's theory of the formation of the eye, and shows that although Natural Selection was a *condition*, and even a necessary condition, it could not have been an *efficient cause*,



of the evolution of the eye. Much no doubt was due to favourable variations, but these "must have arisen out of some inherent peculiarities of the individuals who transmitted the variations," or "in some cases to effects resulting from the influence of the environments." Having thus dealt with Natural Selection, Croll proceeds to consider Determinism in relation to theories of life. He divides these theories into two classes, one which supposes the phenomena of life and the changes that take place in organic nature to be the result of purely chemical and physical agencies, the other asserting that there must be something more at work, an agency that does not belong to the domain of chemistry and physics, to which the name of "vital force" has been applied. "In what respect," he asks, "is vital force supposed to differ from other forces? Does the difference exist in the force itself, or in the mode of its operation?" To answer this, he supposes all life on the globe, both animal and vegetable, to be destroyed, and vital force to disappear. If the vital force thus destroyed were to reappear as chemical or physical force, then there would be no difference between it and other forces of Nature; but if it disappeared entirely, which it would do on the supposition of its being an essentially different force from all others—then there would be a violation of the principle of the conservation of energy. We state our author's argument; but we venture to observe that, though the law of conservation of energy is undoubtedly true so far as all our experience of Nature goes, a question might arise whether it would necessarily be so if such a catastrophe occurred as the destruction of all life on the face of the Earth and that from the operation of some sudden cause; how can we be quite sure that the principle will then hold good? However, Croll maintains that the supposed violation of this great principle is opposed to the modern science of energy, and untenable. Vital force, therefore, is chemical force transformed. But it is quite another thing to affirm that all the energies of plants and animals are chemical or physical. He, on the contrary, holds that it is the *determination* of the forces which can alone account for the phenomena of organic nature, and here, indeed, his contention is a most powerful one, and one that we have no difficulty in following. He again calls our attention to the fact that we apply such names as chemical energy, heat, electricity, mechanical energy to the various modes of operation of the self-same energy. And he recurs to an illustration which has already been mentioned, but which we may perhaps be permitted to repeat, because it is such a beautiful and apposite one—namely, the leaf of a tree. He says it

is not moulded by some external agency into its particular shape. It is built up molecule by molecule. The form and structure of the

leaf are the result of the arrangement and disposition of the particles of which it is composed. The thing to be accounted for is not what moves the molecules or particles in its formation, but what guides, directs, or determines the motion of these particles. The leaf could not be formed did not each particle move in the right direction, and stop at the proper time and at the proper place. . . . What determines the motion of each particle along its particular path? The mere motion of the molecules is produced by force; but what directs or determines this force to move each particle along its special path? The mystery lies deeper still. Not only are the paths of the molecules different, but they must all be adjusted in relation to one another, for it is to the proper adjustment of the paths that the form of the leaf is due. . . . Further, the whole tree is built up of molecules, as well as the leaf. The molecules which form the branch must be differently determined from the molecules forming the leaves. . . . Each particle must be determined, not only in relation to the objective idea of the particular leaf or the particular branch to which it belongs, but in relation to the objective idea of the tree. . . . Nor is this all. The molecules must move and adjust themselves in relation to the idea of a tree of a special kind. The molecules forming, say, an oak tree must move in relation to one another in a different way from those forming a beech or a pine. And yet, however diversified may be the motions of the molecules in the different species of trees, nevertheless all must move in relation to the general idea of a tree. . . . Each plant, each animal, has not only its own particular form; it has the form of the species to which it belongs; and not only this, but the form of the genus to which the species belongs; and not only the form of the genus, but the form of the family, order, class, and kingdom to which the genus belongs. . . . The order and unity which the botanist and the comparative anatomist find pervading Nature owe their existence to the order and unity which exist among the determinations of molecular movements.

#### Again:

In Nature we have a unity of plan pervading the endless diversity that everywhere prevails, simply because the endless and almost infinite diversity of molecular movements takes place according to a unity of plan. . . . Natural Selection never can explain the objective idea in Nature, unless we suppose the selection to be made according to a design or plan. Mr. Darwin has developed a new and most important idea; but his theory can never, from its very nature, explain the mystery of the organic world. There must be a *determining* cause in the background of all natural selection working out the objective idea. But there is not merely a unity of plan to be accounted for, but also a unity of purpose. Things in Nature are not only related to one another in form, but they stand related as means to ends. . . . How, then, is all this order and unity, both of plan and purpose, in molecular motions to be accounted for?

To what has been said above, we would venture to add that the striking symmetry exhibited by the leaves of a tree, as well indeed as the beauty of the great majority of trees themselves, point to a determining cause, beyond the blind forces of Natural Selection.

We must apologise to our readers for making such large quotations verbatim from our author; but we hope that it will be admitted that the importance of the subject justifies us in allowing him to tell his tale in his own words.

He devotes a chapter to the discussion of Molecular Motion in relation to Unity of Plan; or in regard to *Form* of objects. He takes the example of human labour, and points out that the form of a building, for instance, is not merely due to the transport of the molecules and the energy which conveys the materials, but to that which guides and directs the energy. He remarks that we know heat and electricity to be modes of molecular motion, but we do not know with certainty what that mode is in the case of heat, and still less in that of electricity. Though great advance has been made in the study of molecular physics of late years, yet little light has been thrown on the cause of the determination of molecular motion. The advocates of the physical school fancy that at some future day we may be able to explain how organic nature can be built up by the play of the ordinary chemical and physical forces. "This is the cherished hope of modern evolutionists, and of the advocates of the physical theory of life. But it is a mental delusion, a dream which will never be realised. A little consideration might satisfy any one that chemistry and physics will never explain the mystery of Nature." And here, again, we have some words that deserve to be carefully weighed:

If one plant or animal differs from another, or the parent from the child, it is because in the building-up process the determinations of molecular motions were different in the two cases. . . . Here in this region the doctrine of natural selection and the struggle for existence can afford no more light on the matter than the fortuitous concurrence of atoms and the atomical philosophy of the ancients.

But molecular motion has further to be considered in its relation to unity of end or purpose. Croll illustrates this from the egg of a bird; and also from the formation of the human embryo (quoting in this latter instance Professor Mivart) and, after stating some interesting details, he observes that the whole process of development from the germ to the perfectly-formed individual is one of differentiation and determination. "Each cell is formed molecule by molecule." "What determines the molecules to take their proper position?" Natural Selection does not explain it,

for here there is no struggle for existence, no preservation of the fittest by the destruction of the unfit. It certainly, however, secures the continued existence of the fittest, and explains how it is, as a rule, that organisms suit the conditions in which they exist. It is this latter circumstance (he thinks) which has erroneously led to the belief that Darwinism is hostile or fatal to the Design argument.

Thus it is that our author leads us up to the great final problem of Determination in relation to Teleology :

Everything [he remarks] in organic nature is formed according to some definite plan, and is also subservient to some definite end. Whether the plan was designed or the end purposed many dispute ; but no reasonable person will dispute the existence of plan and end. Those plans and ends must, however, be referred to some cause.

Referring then to what has already been said about the molecules that build up organisms, it appears that the special form of the organism results from this particular determination of the molecules ; and that

teleology must follow as a necessary consequence since the special form of the organism stands in the relation of an end or final cause to the determination of its molecules. That something, whatever it may be, which determines molecular motion may be regarded as the Efficient Cause ; and the form according to which the motions are determined, may be called a Final Cause.

He then points out the error of supposing that Darwinism has given the death-blow to the argument from design.

Before natural selection can come into operation, organisms must be produced. If natural selection could form these organisms as well as select them, then it might be argued that this principle was hostile to teleology. But it has been proved that natural selection can do no such thing. . . . The grand, the difficult, and, as yet, unanswered question is this : " What guides the molecule to its proper position in relation to the end it has to serve ? "

It is, however, necessary to notice other arguments besides Natural Selection, which Evolutionists sometimes employ against Teleology : one, and a well-known one, being the great waste and destruction that are continually going on in every department of life, which they think points to the absence of an Intelligent Cause operating according to a wise purpose. This objection, especially as regards the animal kingdom, has been incidentally but ably answered in Wallace's " Darwinism." Croll's answer is this : " What conceivable advantage would be gained by a less abundance of life ? " Such a state of things is in effect no imperfection at all, but, on the contrary, highly advantageous. " If

a field produced no more seed than would simply be sufficient for next year's crop, the earth would soon become a barren wilderness." So, again, with respect to another objection—namely, the imperfectly-formed character of the great mass of organisms. The answer is that this follows as a necessary consequence of the great superabundance of life to which we have just referred; and it is not any real loss or disadvantage, for "it is this comparative imperfection that mainly gives to Nature its endless variety of forms, and imparts to it one of its principal charms." And as to the existence of rudimentary organs, which has been used as an argument against design, it is a presumptive proof in favour of Darwin's theory of natural selection, but no evidence against design; assuming natural selection, rudimentary organs must necessarily sometimes make their appearance, unless specially prevented by other means. After all, are rudimentary organs any great evil? What harm do they do?

The great fact we have before us is, that "in the attainment of ends, unity of plan, form, and process is always observed." When a new end is to be gained, it is almost invariably reached by a simple modification of the old process or plan of operation. "This is exactly what we might *à priori* expect in the action of an intelligent power observing the great law of parsimony." The apparent imperfections in Nature indicate the operation of a perfect intelligence which, in reaching an end, takes all things into consideration, and which acting according to one law, does not violate another.

"Evolution has shown that Nature progresses by imperceptible gradations"; but this ought not to have led men to the abandonment of the great principle of teleology, the foundations of which it rather deepens than widens.

Upon this principle Determinism throws a new light. The state of the universe at the present moment was determined by its antecedent states. We cannot suppose that one determination has resulted from another in an infinite regression without any beginning. . . . Indeed, one can hardly help feeling that many have been led too hastily to adopt the hypothesis of an eternal universe and an infinite series of events through the disinclination to admit the existence of a creative intelligence.

Again :

Our proof of the existence of God undoubtedly rests on the principle of causation. If something now exists, we know from that principle that something must have always existed. . . . Is it God or the Universe? One party holds to the former, and another to the latter view. The theory of an eternal universe is, however, burdened with the absurdity of an eternal succession of events. . . . There is more to be accounted for than eternal existence.

There is a succession of orderly events with a plan and a purpose running through them, and this cannot be explained by mere matter and motion: more is required. The other view is not burdened with the same difficulty. We do not, according to it, require to assume an eternal succession of events. All that we require to assume is an eternal God, infinite in all his attributes. For although we suppose the operations of the Deity to have taken place in time, yet we must assume that these operations were determined from eternity. . . . Eternal matter and eternal force would be impotent to produce the evolution of an orderly universe. The matter and the force must be *determined*. Whence, then, could they have got this determination had there been no God? They could not have obtained it, as has been already indicated, from Natural Selection. Natural Selection cannot produce anything. It must have previously-existing organisms on which to operate. It must be regarded as simply an integral part or link in that succession of events which we are now considering. The whole, natural selection included, may be looked upon as a series or succession of determinations, the one resulting from the other. But this just leads us back to the commencement of the series for the rational grounds of the process, and evidently points to Theism: since eternal matter and motion leave the whole affair in utter darkness and confusion.

There is an appendix to the work, in which the author discusses Determination in relation to Free Will. We do not propose to follow him through the various points here treated; it is, we think, less satisfactory than other parts of his book. He writes as if he had a vein (subdued indeed, but still existing) of Scotch Calvinism in his nature. He denies the self-determining power of the will, but allows that we possess some self-determining power. We suppose that all persons who believe in the Catholic doctrine of Grace will admit that there is some factor in our spiritual and moral nature besides our own will, but will say that it so acts as to leave our will perfectly free. There is obviously a mystery in the whole process, into which mortal man cannot penetrate. And even our author, denying the full freedom of the will to a degree in which we are disposed to think no Catholic would follow him, admits that there is

a difficulty which it seems impossible to remove. How in this case [the supposition that those actions which we regard as free are in some sense predetermined] can responsibility be made to harmonise with the great law of causation? The only answer I can give is that "I cannot tell. It is to me an unsolvable mystery."

We would say one word to the deniers of the freedom of the will—define what you mean by a *motive*; surely a motive is not a physical force bearing down upon you like a gale of wind against which you can hardly stand; it is rather something which you



by your own will *select* to follow. And if this be so, the argument about inevitably following the strongest motives at any moment carries but little weight with it.

To return, however, to the more important part of the work before us. We have, as we have already observed, by means of quotations, which we fear may be considered as unduly long, allowed the author to state his case to our readers in his own language. We are writing in the strict sense of the word a *review* of his book, and not a critical essay. We may, however, be permitted to make a few observations on a subject of such profound interest. If we are to notice minor defects, we may say that there is far too much repetition in the book, giving a superficial reader the idea that it is a series of partly disconnected essays. But the real reason of this is probably that the work was begun at some considerable interval of time before it was finished. This we learn from a remark that the lamented author makes in another work, on "Stellar Evolution," published before that of which we have here been treating, where he alluded to this latter as one commenced but not completed. The repetition of principles and of arguments has at least one advantage, that of impressing more strongly on the mind of the reader the lesson that the writer seeks to teach.

Now, of course, there is nothing new in the endeavour to show that the evolutionary hypothesis, even in its full Darwinian shape, is quite compatible with a belief in God and His controlling Providence; various writers, Catholics and others, have pointed this out, laying stress also on the difficulty that every theory of evolution must have in accounting for the first beginning of organic life on the earth, and perhaps still more for the beginning of *conscious* life. But the present work does more than this, it tends to prove that not only is Theism compatible with the Darwinian hypothesis of natural selection, not merely is it the only satisfactory explanation of one or two difficulties, but that it necessarily underlies the whole system; that it is in fact the one true key that unlocks the arcana of Nature.

We need scarcely remind our readers that there are several schools of opinion among evolutionists; to a certain degree we suppose all biologists are evolutionists; no one we imagine would deny the development of species and varieties, but amongst the more advanced maintainers of the theory there are those, who, while claiming to be the legitimate interpreters of Darwin's doctrine, yet deny that natural selection will explain all biological phenomena, and introduce another factor which they term physiological selection; they fully agree with Darwin in holding that the human race have descended from some species of anthropoid ape (long since extinct), and to this man owes his origin

both of body and mind. We believe Mr. Romanes is the most prominent expositor of this view. There is then the opinion most ably represented by Mr. Alfred Wallace, who seems to hold that Natural Selection will explain almost everything, excepting the mental faculties of man, which he believes to have come from a supernatural source. A third opinion has its best exponent in Professor Mivart, who while fully admitting evolution as a fact, would greatly narrow the field of natural selection and would look to other causes of development to explain the evolutionary process. We do not know that the eminent biologist whom we have mentioned last, has ever given a decided opinion about the descent of the body of man, but he undoubtedly holds in common with Catholics generally that the soul with the higher faculties of the human mind must have been the supernatural gift of God.

We presume that Dr. Croll's work will be received in a different way by these various schools of biological science. The extreme natural selectionists will probably continue to maintain as they have done before that if the variation of organisms is indefinite, as many have supposed, and if time enough be allowed, natural selection may possibly account (they would doubtless say *may certainly account*) for all the phenomena of life. But as we have already seen variation is very probably not indefinite; and as to time, the enormous periods they require, such for instance as 200,000,000 years for the development of organisms, are almost appalling to contemplate. Some serious objections have been raised from an astronomical point of view against the possibility of life having existed on the earth for nearly so long a time; but as there is a difference of opinion about these, we must not press that line of argument too far. Croll himself, in his work on "Stellar Evolution," concludes (mainly on geological grounds) that 90,000,000 years have elapsed since the earth's crust became solid, and so in some sense fit for the existence of organic life. By an estimate taken from the date of the glacial epoch (Croll's favourite theory) the figures appear to come down to 60,000,000 years. This last named estimate, vast as it is, would we imagine not be considered nearly sufficient by the more ardent believers in Natural Selection, but it is not our purpose to discuss this question further; since in the present work Croll admits, at any rate for argument's sake, all the facts of natural selection, and takes his stand as we have seen, on the ground of Determinism.

In conclusion, however, we would submit to men of science the following question on the subject of teleology, that is in fact as to the truth of Theism:—Is not the very idea of Natural Selection, that is the survival of the fittest, based on the supposition of an *orderly Universe*? Let us imagine for a moment a chaotic or semi-chaotic world with everything in the condition of unstable

equilibrium—could we possibly say that the fittest would survive? Might it not be the case, that the higher an organism were in the scale, the more probably it would perish? Our author tells us that Natural Selection conduces to the order and harmony of that succession of events which has constituted the history of the Universe; and this may be quite true, but would Natural Selection operate at all in the way it does if there were not an orderly world in which it could work? The law of gravitation binds together the whole of the visible creation, so far as we know, and together with other laws, some of which we do not know, produces a system of stability instead of chaos, of order rather than confusion. We do not, of course, certainly know what goes on in the distant stars and nebulae, but we have every reason to believe that widely different as their present state may be from that of our own Sun and the planets of our system, they yet obey the same laws and form part of the same orderly universe.

All this points forcibly to the work of an Intelligent Creator, or as our author says, "an Eternal God, infinite in all His attributes." In his interesting book on "Stellar Evolution," he arrives at the same conclusion as in the work before us; and here we feel safe in pronouncing that those who may dissent from his views can scarcely refuse to recognise the philosophical knowledge, the ability, and the power which he has brought to bear upon this his last literary effort.

F. R. WEGG-PROSSER.



ART. VIII.—THE CULTUS OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN  
AS CONTAINED IN THE SARUM BREVIARY.

IT is somewhat difficult for us, who live in another age and in very different times, to picture to ourselves the dignity and splendour with which the offices of the Church were carried out in this land of ours previous to the great catastrophe, or rather series of catastrophes, which finally ended in severing England from the unity of the Apostolic See. It is hardly to be realised, that barely three hundred and fifty years ago, thousands of voices, throughout the length and breadth of the country, were daily and nightly wont to re-echo the solemn official prayer of the Church, the sevenfold hours, in those vast cathedral and collegiate churches which still form the chief architectural feature of our market towns, and in the vaulted choirs of many an ancient minster or convent chapel, long since transformed into the fair home of some country squire, or whose crumbling ruins, deserted now and silent, save for the feathered songsters who find a welcome shelter in its ivy-mantled towers, lend a melancholy charm to many a spot in rural England. It may be that a like profusion of splendour in the recitation of the Divine Office is nowhere to be found at the present day, for the liturgical lamp now burns but dimly it would seem; the official worship of the Church has long since ceased to be the spiritual daily bread of the great mass of the people, and other forms of devotion have, to a greater or less extent, taken its place.

But at the time of which we speak, things were altogether different. The Englishman of that day was no stranger to the services of his Church; he knew them, and knew them well; so much so, indeed, that it was by no means an uncommon occurrence to hear even rude and unlettered persons interlarding their conversation with scraps of Latin, apt quotations from the Vulgate or from the Fathers, with which they had grown familiar in the services of the Church. For it must be remembered that, apart from the celebration of the Holy Mysteries, the recitation of the Canonical Hours was the only form of public prayer known to our forefathers. It was on these two solemn acts of worship, therefore, that they lavished all their care and all their energy; striving not only to render their liturgies, as far as might be, worthy of the Divine end for which they were intended, but also to celebrate their ecclesiastical offices with becoming dignity and reverence. How far they were successful in the first of these endeavours we can judge for ourselves, for

many of the old service books are still extant, and reprints of more than one of them have, of late years, been given to the public.

Like the architecture of the period, the late mediæval liturgies are everywhere encumbered with a profusion, it might almost be said with a superfluity, of ornament; nor are these embellishments always in the best possible taste. Nevertheless, side by side with certain passages which might now be considered trivial and wanting in dignity, and which we could never wish to see reintroduced into the services of the Church, there is an inexhaustible fund of antiphons, sequences, hymns, etc., of surpassing beauty and merit, and from which much valuable material might well be drawn, either for the improvement and enrichment of our own local offices, or for such purposes as Benediction services, May and June Devotions, and so forth.

The various Uses followed in England, while differing from one another considerably in dignity of feasts, were almost identical in the structural form and order of their services; they one and all derived their origin from Rome, and differed from her contemporary liturgy much less than has frequently been supposed. In the details of the various offices, in the number and rank of the festivals observed, in such matters as these, divergencies may be found, but the framework, the construction, the skeleton, so to speak, of the English books is essentially Roman. And if we exclude the Ambrosian and Mozarabic, and perhaps also the monastic liturgies, the above remarks apply with equal force to all the contemporary rites of Western Europe. Dom Guéranger, in his "*Institutions Liturgiques*," cites as a proof of this, and also to show with what tenacity the reformers of our own breviary clung to the time-honoured traditions of the ancient Church of Rome, the fate which afterwards befell more than one venerable liturgy. He tells us how, at the time of the reform of the Roman Breviary by Pope St. Pius V., several French and Italian Churches, who had possessed a rite of their own for upwards of two hundred years, and who were thereby exempted from conforming to Roman use, did not choose to avail themselves of the privilege, but at once adopted the reform of St. Pius, contenting themselves with merely adding supplements for their own peculiar offices. For when the old service-books came to be revised, and the accretions of centuries to be cut away, it was found they so nearly resembled the new Roman Breviary that it was not considered worth while to go to the expense of reprinting them. And he tells us furthermore, that such revised editions of the old French liturgies as were actually issued by some of the more wealthy or conservative chapters, turned out to be so near akin to the restored Roman Breviary that, at the time of which we write,

though of course this was very far from being the case later on, almost all France may be said to have practically followed the Use of Rome. Nor is this to be wondered at, seeing that the old Gallican Rite had been entirely superseded nearly seven centuries before, though possibly some traces of it may have found their way into the Franco-Roman books which succeeded it.

Of all English breviaries the most celebrated, perhaps, was that according to the Use of "the illustrious Church of Salisbury," and it is of this work, or rather of a very small part of it—namely, some of those portions which relate to the cultus of Our Lady, that we would treat in the following pages. But first of all, it might be well, in order to clear the ground, to point out in what manner the Sarum festal office differs, so far as concerns structural character, from the modern Roman Use.

And here, be it observed, that the differences between the Sarum Breviary and our own, are not necessarily characteristic of England, similar variations are to be met with in comparing our modern Roman Breviary with the Roman Breviaries used in mediæval times, or indeed with any other mediæval service book.

To begin, then, with Vespers. The Psalms were sometimes said, as with us, each under its own antiphon, but at others, all under one antiphon. After the Little Chapter comes a responsory, similar to those which follow the lessons at Matins, and to this was occasionally added a sequence or prose, sometimes in place of, sometimes in addition to, the ordinary hymn. The variations at Compline are more considerable. The office was not preceded by prayers, as is ours, but after a Pater and Ave began at once with the *Ÿ* *Converte nos Deus Salutaris noster*; the Little Chapter followed immediately after the Psalms, the short responsory was wholly omitted, and the "preces" after the "*Nunc dimittis*" were said daily, even on double festivals, except from Maundy Thursday till Low Sunday and on All Souls Day.

There are but two points in which the Sarum Matins differed from those of Rome. The prayers "*Exaudi Domine*" "*Ipsius pietatis*" and "*A vinculis peccatorum*," which with us precede the Benedictions, are altogether omitted, and a ninth responsory is almost always inserted between the last lesson and the *Te Deum*. True, a rubric of the Great Breviary, printed by Claude Chevallon, in 1531, directs that an Ave Maria should be said after the Pater-noster, which at the Nocturns precedes the Benedictions, but as this is the only edition of the Sarum Breviary in which the direction is to be found, it is more than likely that the words, "*et Ave Maria*" were added to the rubric in error.\*

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\* See reprint of Sarum Breviary issued by the Cambridge University Press. Vol. iii. appendix i, p. xxx.



The office of Lauds differed in no way from our own, but a variable *Y* and *R* was prefixed to the opening sentences "*Deus in adiutorium*," &c. The Athanasian Creed was said daily at Prime except only on Maundy Thursday and on the days which follow till the end of Easter week; the *preces*, which were somewhat longer than ours, were also said daily, except from Maundy Thursday till Low Sunday, and on All Souls Day; and on certain feasts of Our Lady a lesson was added.

Tierce, Sext and None differed in no way structurally from the Roman Rite.

The above remarks do not apply to details, but only to the general structure of the offices, nevertheless it is worthy of note that the arrangement of the *Sarum Psalter* is almost identical with that of our own, and that in the sequence of the festal Psalms also, there is a very marked similarity.

The number of festivals in honour of the Blessed Virgin set down for observance in the *Sarum Kalendar* is seven. The Assumption, August 15; the Purification, February 2; the Visitation, July 2; the Nativity, September 8; the Annunciation, March 25; the Conception, December 8; and the Feast of Our Lady of Snow, August 5. To these was added later on, probably early in the sixteenth century, the Festival of the Presentation. This office is not found incorporated in the *Proprium Sanctorum* along with the other festal offices, but appears in the Great Breviary of 1531 after the *Commune Sanctorum*, together with several "*commemorations*," as they were called, or votive offices. It is preceded by the following curious note, from which it would seem that the observance of the Festival of the Presentation owes its origin to Francis I. of France:

In festo Presentationis Virginis Mariæ [hoc est die Novembris XXI. secundum *Enchiridion Sarum* 1530].

Nota quod dominus rex Franciæ facit quolibet anno celebrari in presentia sua istam solemnitatem, et misit cuilibet magnarum ecclesiarum regni sui officium integrum, ut divulgaretur, et publicaretur, ac solennizaretur per totum suum regnum.

Misitque idem dominus rex prædictum officium domino Imperatori: qui cum magno gaudio illud recepit et fecit et faciet ut promisit quolibet anno celebrari et ubique publicari. Insuper idem dominus rex misit prædictum officium reginæ antiquæ Hungariæ: quæ valde honorifice illud recepit et solennizari fecit, et mandavit per totum regnum Hungariæ prædictum festum quolibet anno debere celebrari.\*

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\* On the feast of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary (that is on the 21st of November, according to the *Salisbury Enchiridion* (*Primer*) 1530).

Note that the Lord King of France ordained that this festival should be annually celebrated in his presence, and that he sent a copy of the office with which it should be solemnised to each of the principal churches in his domains,

In addition to all these festivals, on one day in each week, if possible Saturday, if not, on any other vacant day, a votive office of Our Lady was appointed to be said, much in the same way as the Roman Breviary ordains the recitation of the "*Officium B. Mariæ in Sabbato*." The Little Office also was frequently recited, and it was so arranged that daily throughout the whole year some Matins and Vespers of the Blessed Virgin should be said, either in choir or out of choir; that is to say, that on all those days which were not festivals of Our Lady, or on which her votive office was not recited, Matins and Vespers of the "*Little Office*" should be said, in addition to the ordinary office of the day.

Of all the old English feasts in honour of the Blessed Virgin, the Assumption was that which was held in the greatest veneration, if we may judge from the fact that it alone was observed as a "*Principal Double*," the equivalent to our Double of the First Class. We shall consider it, therefore, somewhat more fully than the other festivals of Our Lady, notwithstanding that the offices with which several of them were celebrated are possibly more attractive.

We propose, however, to give, as it were, a rough outline of all, taking each service in turn, and calling attention in passing to some of the more salient features. A few details common to all the offices of the Blessed Virgin are also set down under this service; they will readily be perceived as we progress.\*

Although the Festival of the Assumption held the same relative order of precedence as it does to-day, being observed as a first-class feast with an octave, the office with which it was celebrated differed very considerably from our own. The variable portions, indeed, which are exactly identical, can be set forth in a very few words.

At first Vespers, we have the Little Chapter, and the *Y* and *B* after the hymn; at second Vespers, the Little Chapter, the *Y* and *B*, and the antiphon to the Magnificat; at the Little Hours,

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to the end that it might thereby be published and become widely known, and that thus the feast might be observed everywhere throughout his realm.

The same Lord King likewise sent the aforesaid office to the Lord Emperor; who gladly received it, and appointed the general observance thereof in all his dominions.

Moreover, the same Lord King likewise sent the aforesaid office to the Queen of Hungary, who received it with great honour, and commanded that the Feast of the Visitation should be annually kept throughout her whole kingdom.

\* It may be well to note here that all Latin quotations are taken from the Cambridge University Press Edition of the Sarum Breviary, in which the quaint mediæval spelling of the Great Breviary of 1531 is almost invariably followed.

the antiphons and the Chapter at Tierce ; and at Matins, the Invitatory, the Hymn, the Psalms, the Gospel which forms the subject of the Homilies, and the 1st, the 2nd, the 4th, the 5th, and part of the 8th Responsories ; but the order in which they come is not quite the same as with us, the 2nd and 5th Sarum, being respectively the 3rd and 2nd, according to Roman Use. Lauds, on the other hand, with the exception of the collect and the *Y* and *R* after the hymn, is entirely Roman. The reading of the first part of the fourth antiphon, however, is somewhat different to ours, and the meaning is thereby strangely changed.

Instead of *Benedicta filia tu a Domino,*

O daughter, blessed art thou of the Lord,

We have *Benedicta a filio tuo Domina,*

O Lady, blessed of thy Son.

At the Vespers of the Vigil the Psalms are the ordinary Psalms which Sarum appoints to be said on the Eves of all great festivals—viz.:

1. Ps. 112. *Laudate pueri Dominum.*
2. „ 116. *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes.*
3. „ 145. *Lauda anima.*
4. „ 146. *Laudate Dominum quoniam bonus.*
5. „ 147. *Lauda Jerusalem.*

The antiphons—for each Psalm was said under its own antiphon—are taken for the most part from the Canticle of Canticles. Though some of them are excessively long, they are nevertheless most happily arranged and of considerable beauty. Let the first serve as an example of the rest :

Thou art all fair, O my love, and there is no spot in thee ; thy lips are as a dropping honeycomb, honey and milk are under thy tongue, and the sweet smell of thine ointments is better than all aromatic spices : for the winter is now past, the rain is over and gone, the flowers have appeared, the blossoming vines yield a sweet smell, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land. Arise, make haste, O my love ! Come from Libanus, come and be crowned.

*Tota pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te : favus distillans labia tua, mel et lac sub lingua tua, odor unguentorum tuorum super omnia aromata : jam enim hyems transiit, ymber abiit et recessit, flores apparuerunt, vineæ florentes odorem dederunt, et vox turturis audita est in terra nostra.*

Surge, propera, amica mea, veni de Libano, veni coronaberis.”

The responsorium after the Little Chapter is the same which follows the sixth lesson at Matins, and the collect is identical with that which the Roman Breviary sets down for use at Prime

(extra Adventum), in the Little Office of Our Lady: "Deus qui virginalem aulam," &c.

The hymn, by an unknown author, and of somewhat unusual metre, each strophe being made up of four similar verses, of one syllable less than an Asclepiad, and, like the Asclepiad, receiving the metrical accent on the third, the seventh, and the tenth syllable, and the cæsura after the sixth, is of great beauty. It was not peculiar to England, but was very generally sung almost everywhere in mediæval times. We give it *in extenso*. The chant has been transcribed by Dom Pothier, and is to be found in his "Mélodies Grégoriennes."

O quam glorifica luce choruscas,  
Stirpis Daviticæ regia proles :  
Sublimis residens, virgo Maria,  
Supra cæligenas ætheris omnes.

Tu cum virgineo mater honore :  
Angelorum Domino pectoris aulam  
Sacris visceribus casta parasti :  
Natus hinc Deus est corpore Christus.

Quem cunctus venerans orbis adorât :  
Cui nunc rite genu flectitur omne,  
A quo nos petimus te veniente  
Abjectis tenebris gaudia lucis.

Hoc largire Pater luminis omnis :  
Natum per proprium Flamine Sancto :  
Qui tecum nitida vivit in æthra :  
Regnans ac moderans secula cuncta.

AMEN.\*

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\* The following translation, though only approximate, will, I hope, give the general reader some idea of the original:—

O with what radiant light dost thou glister,  
Paling the stars in thy course through the heavens,  
Royal descendant of prophets and princes,  
Mother, with virginal honour resplendent.

Lo! for Christ Jesus, the Lord of the Angels,  
A shrine thou preparest so holy and pure, that  
From thee He takes flesh to ransom His people,  
Mary thou Virgin who givest Salvation.

He, whom the whole earth duly adoreth,  
To whom the Universe offereth homage,  
From whom we seek, through thine intercession,  
Light after darkness, the glad light of Heaven.

Hear us, O Father of Lights, we beseech Thee,  
For Jesus Christ's sake, Thy Son, our Redeemer,  
Who with the Paraclete, and with Thee, Father,  
Liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. AMEN.

Although, as we have already mentioned, the Sarum office of Compline was very similar in structure to our own, the antiphons, hymns, &c., were not, as with us, always the same, but varied very considerably according to the season or festival, as the case might be. The Great Breviary of 1531 sets down no less than twenty-two different methods of saying Compline, and gives as many as seven different Compline hymns—viz.: “Te lucis ante terminum,” “Salvator Mundi Domine,” “Christe qui lux es et dies,” “Cultor Dei memento,” “Jesu Salvator seculi,” “Jesu Nostra Redemptio,” and “Alma chorus Domini, nunc pangat nomina summi.” This last is more properly speaking a sequence than a hymn; it was appointed to be said on Whit Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. The following extract from the Sarum Breviary gives the proper office for the festival which we are now considering:

COMPL. XXI.

In Visitatione et Assumptione ejusdem (B. Mariæ) ad Completorium super Ps. Ant Sancta Maria Virgo, intercede pro toto mundo, quia genuisti Regem orbis. Ps. cum invocarem (p. 222) Cap. Tu in nobis. Hymnus Salvator. V. Custodi.

Ant Glorificamus te Dei genitrix, quia ex te notus est Christus: salva omnes qui te glorificant. Ps. Nunc dimittis.

The hymn “Salvator mundi Domine” was not especially reserved for feasts of Our Lady. Our space being limited, therefore we refrain from giving it here, and proceed forthwith to Matins. All the antiphons at this office are taken from the Canticle of Canticles, and are arranged with no little skill and appropriateness. They are conceived in much the same spirit as the antiphons at Vespers, but are considerably shorter.

The Sarum Breviary, like the Dominican, contains special lectional Benedictions for feasts of Our Lady. There are two sets, the first to be said, the rubric directs, “in festis et commemorationibus Beatæ Mariæ per totum annum;” the second, “cum fit servitium de ea infra octavas tantum.” These Benedictions are rhyming couplets, similar in character to our own. There is a certain quaint beauty about some of them.

Quæ peperit florem :  
Det nobis floris odorem.

for example, or again,

Stella Maria maris  
Succurre piissima nobis.

None of the lessons are taken from Scripture. The first six are attributed to St. Jerome, and are certainly to be found among his works. They are, however, believed to be from the pen of

Sophronius.\* The last three, forming the homily on the Gospel for the day, are by the Venerable Bede.

It may be convenient to mention here, while we are on the subject of lessons, that a further lengthy portion of the above-mentioned epistle of Sophronius (?) was directed also to be read at Prime. "*Ista sequens lectio*," runs the rubric, "*legatur ad Primam in capitulo : et sic fiat quotidie per Octavas Assumptionis et Nativitatis beatæ Mariæ tantum.*"

As for the responsories, the first, the second, the fourth, the fifth, and part of the eighth, as we have already seen, are still to be found in the Roman office. Of the remainder, the seventh and the third are arranged from the Cantic of Canticles, the ninth, "*Felix namque es*," is identical with the last responsory of our Little Office (extra Adventum), and the sixth is an adaptation of the passage from Wisdom vii. 10, "*Super salutem*" &c. The opening sentences at Lauds before the "*Deus in adiutorium*" are the same as the *Ÿ* and *℟* which we sing after the hymn, "*Exaltata es Sancta Dei Genitrix*," &c. These are not again repeated, however, but another *Ÿ* and *℟* is substituted in their place, "*Elegit eam Deus et prælegit eam, et habitare eam fecit in tabernaculo suo.*"

The following collect was said, not only at Lauds, but also at the Little Hours and at second Vespers. It is the same as that which the Dominicans still use on the Feast of the Assumption.

#### ORATIO.

Veneranda nobis, Domine, hujus diei festivitas opem conferat sempiternam : in qua sancta Dei genitrix mortem subiit temporalem, nec tamen mortis nexibus deprimi potuit, quæ Filium tuum Dominum nostrum de se genuit incarnatum. Qui tecum vivit.†

Of the Little Hours, the short responsories and the chapters at Sext and None alone remain to be described. The latter are formed from that portion of the passage from Ecclesiasticus which we read at Sext, divided into two parts ; while the former are not proper to the festival as ours are, but made up, for the most part, of various short sentences still to be

\* See Cambridge University Press edition of *Sarum Breviary*, vol. iii. p. 687, note.

† COLLECT.

Grant, we beseech Thee, merciful Lord, that the adorable solemnity of this day, on which Mary the Holy Mother of God, who brought forth Thy Son, Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, underwent the pains of death, and yet nevertheless could not be bound by its fetters, may confer on us Thy continual succour, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen.



found scattered up and down the Roman Breviary, such as "Post partum Virgo inviolata," &c., "Speciosa facta es," &c., "Elegit eam Deus," &c., and so forth. The office of second Vespers is far more interesting. The Psalms, the same which we use on Christmas Day, were all said under one antiphon, the first of Lauds. The responsorium which follows the Little Chapter is in part an adaptation from the Canticle of Canticles, and is made up of four verses, three hexameters and a pentameter.

R. Candida Virginitas paradisi cara colonis.  
Ortus conclusus, florenti cespite vernans.  
Cui merito mundus celebrat Præconia totus.

Ÿ. Quæ meruit Dominum progenerare suum.  
Cui merito, &c.  
Gloria Patri, &c.  
Præconia, &c.

In place of a hymn we have the following beautiful sequence, said to have been written by Saint Bernard. The ancient melody to which it was sung, was at one time popular all over Europe, a transcription of it from the "Salisbury Gradual" has been published by Messrs. Novello & Co. in Helmore's "Hymnal Noted."

Lætabundus exultet fidelis chorus Alleluya.  
Regem regum intactæ profudit thorax res miranda.  
Angelus consilii natus est de Virgine, sol de stella.  
Sol occasum nesciens, stella semper rutilans, semper clara.  
Sicut sydus radium, profert virgo filium pari forma.  
Neque sydus radio, neque mater Filio fit corrupta.  
Cedrus alta Lybani conformatur ysopo valle nostra.  
Verbum ens Altissimi corporari passus est carne sumpta.  
Esayas cecinet, synagoga meminit: nunquam tamen desinit esse cæca.

Si non suis vatibus credat vel gentilibus, sibilinis versibus hæc prædicta.

Infelix propera.  
Crede vel vetera.  
Cur damnaberis gens misera?  
Quem docet litera.  
Natum considera.  
Ipsam genuit puerpera. AMEN.\*

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\* The following beautiful translation, by the late Dr. Neale, is inserted by the kind permission of the publishers, Messrs. Novello Ewer & Co.

#### HYMN.

Full of gladness, let our faithful choir be singing, Alleluia,  
Monarch's Monarch. From unspotted maiden springing: Alleluia,

We next come to the Feast of the Visitation, observed on July 2; it ranked as a Sarum Greater Double, which corresponds to the Roman Double of the second class, and was kept with an octave. This feast was first instituted by St. Bonaventure, and extended to the whole Church by Urban VI. in 1389.\* It seems, however, to have taken nearly a century to reach England, for it was not till 1480 that the Archbishop of Canterbury received from the Prolocutor a proposal to order the observance of VI. Non. Julii as a fixed feast of the Visitation, "sub more duplicis festi secundum usum Sarum. Cum pleno servitio" (Wilkin's "Concilia," iii. 613.)†

The Sarum Breviary contains, in the second and third lessons of the day, a curious account of the reasons which induced Urban to institute this festival, and of the indulgences which he granted to those who duly observed it. The Church was in the very throes of that great Western schism, which, beginning in 1378, was not healed till 1417. Cardinal Robert, Count of Geneva, whom eleven years previously the French party in the Sacred College had set up as Pope, in opposition to Urban, and who had assumed the title of Clement VIII., had succeeded in obtaining the obedience not only of France, but also of Naples, Savoy, Castile, Aragon, Navarre, Scotland, and Lorraine. Then it was that the true Vicar of Christ turned his eyes towards the Virgin Mother of God, and in order to obtain her intercession against that "pestilent virus of schism," by which "the unity of the Church Militant was being rent asunder," promulgated the general observance of the Festival of the Visitation.

Speravit idem pontifex (nec falli potuit) quod contra virus pestiferum scismatis introducti, quo Christianæ plebis communio

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Him the Holy Virgin bore, wonderful and counsellor, sun from star had spring;  
Sun that never knoweth night; star for ever shining bright, ever glittering.  
As a star a ray most fair, thus the Virgin also bare, like in form, the child;  
Nor the star by that its ray, nor the Virgin any way by the birth defiled.  
Now conforms the cedar tall to the hyssop of the wall in our vale of tears;  
He, God's Word and Essence, came to assume our mortal frame, and with man appears.

Though Isaiah had foreshown, though the Synagogue had known, yet the truth she will not own, still remaining blind,  
If she do her prophets wrong, if she will not hear their throng, still she may in Gentile song, seek the deed, and find.

Turn Judæa and repent, credit thine Old Testament; why upon destruction bent, miserable race!

Whom its oracles foretold, born to save the world, behold; Him a Virgin's arms enfold, full of truth and grace. Amen.

\* See Alzog's "Universal Church History," vol. iii. p. 155.

† See Cambridge University Press edition of Sarum Breviary. Vol. iii. appendix ii. page lii. note a.

dissoluta est et ecclesiæ militantis unitas rumpebatur, acceptior mediatrix apud Deum esse nequivit quam ipsa quæ Deum genuit : ut dum festum visitationis ejus a clero et populo devotis celebratur officiis dignetur ejus pietatis congrua prece afferre remedia statum ecclesiæ reconciliando in fide et gratia salutari.

Ut autem devotius et attentius ad idem festum celebrandum invitaretur plebs fidelis, præfatus pontifex Romanus auctoritate apostolica statuit diem solemnitatis sexto Nonas Julii per singulos annos celebrandum, concedens piis hujus festi cultoribus speciales indulgentias perpetuis temporibus duraturas.

Unde omnibus vere pœnitentibus et confessis qui Matutinali officio, seu Missæ, aut Vesperis ejusdem festivitatis in ecclesia præsentibus affuerint : centum dies.

Eis vero qui Primæ, Tertiæ, Sextæ, Nonæ ac Completorii, officiis interfuerint : pro qualibet ipsarum Horarum quadriginta dies.

Illis autem qui per Octavas ejusdem Matutinalibus, Missæ, Vesperarum, ac prædictarum Horarum officiis interessent : singulis diebus centum dies de injunctis sibi pœnitentiis misericorditer relaxavit.\*

The office with which Sarum celebrated this feast, if we except the Psalms, the Gospel, and one or two versicles, is totally different from that which we use to-day. The antiphons are all rhyming couplets, and some of them are replete with mystic beauty. Take, for example, the second at first Vespers, where Our Lady is spoken of as "the sweet-scented lily of the valley, bearing a heavenly blossom," and as "making lovely the track across the mountains."

*Lilium convalium fragrans in odorem,  
Iter ornat montium ferens coeli florem.*

\* The same Pontiff (that is Urban) was of opinion that against the noxious poison of schism, by which the Communion of Christian peoples was being dissolved, and the unity of the Church broken, there could be no more acceptable mediatrix with God, than she who had herself brought forth God ; he, therefore, had great hope that, moved by her prayers, the Lord would be pleased to put an end to the ills by which his Church was afflicted.

Moreover, in order that the faithful might be incited the more devoutly and attentively to celebrate that feast (the Presentation) the aforesaid Roman Pontiff by his Apostolic authority ordained that it should be kept every year on the 2nd of July, and granted to all those who piously observed the same, special indulgences, available in perpetuity.

Namely, to all those, who having confessed their sins, and being truly contrite, should be present in Church on the day of the Feast at Matins or Mass, or Vespers, a hundred days.

To those who should be present at Prime, Tierce, Sext, None and Compline, for each of those hours, forty days.

And for all those who throughout the whole octave should be present at Matins, Mass, and Vespers, as well as at the offices of the aforesaid hours on each of those days, he mercifully relaxed a hundred days of the penances enjoined to them.

Or the following, which tells us how "Paradise bestowed the heavenly fruit, which filled the unborn babe with joy."

Paradisus cœlicum fructum efferebat,  
Gravidæ qui puerum gaudio replebat.

Or again the fourth: "The Lord kindled the lamp of true light, whereby He found and delivered the groat which we had lost."

Lucernam veri luminis Dominus accendit,  
Quo dragmam nostram perditam salvans apprehendit.

Take again the fifth antiphon at Matins. Here we are told that Mary is the tabernacle of God, which He Himself hath made holy, from whence He hath drawn the river of life which giveth drink to all nations.

Dei tabernaculum quod ipse sacravit:  
Ex te vitæ fluvium cunctis derivavit.

Or the first at Lauds, in which allusion is again made to the journey "into the hill country":—"The dawn of grace breaketh o'er the mountains, shining with the light of heavenly glory, bringing to the righteous the Sun of righteousness, and a day of new found joy."

Scandit montes aurora gratiæ  
Luce fulgens cœlestis gloriæ,  
Justis ferens solem justiciæ  
Diem monstrat novæ læticiæ.

The "Responsoria" are likewise very beautiful, and they too, are all conceived in rhyming verse. The second at Matins, which is also said at first Vespers, is typical of the rest. In this exquisite little mystic poem we are told how, filled with the prophetic spirit of Elias of old, the unborn precursor of the Saviour, recognising the presence of his God, leapt for joy, and how St. Elizabeth, filled with the Holy Ghost, was made the partaker of his marvellous prophecy. Here the theme is, as it were, interrupted by an ecstasie outburst of admiration, borrowed from the rich Oriental imagery of the Canticle of Canticles, a triumphant act of faith, so to speak, in the power of the Virgin Mother of God: "The approach of Mary is flowing down with heavenly delights." Then, by way of assent, "Yea, it was through Mary, the ark of God, that the Lord blessed the house of Zachariah, and for this we give glory to the Father and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, for doth not heaven ever rain down blessings at the Visitation of Mary!

R Exultat infans gaudiis  
In spiritu Helyæ:

Cujus mater mirabilis  
Fit compos prophetiæ.  
Cœli manat deliciis  
Introitus Mariæ.  
Propter archam Domini  
Benedixit domui  
Deus Zachariæ.  
Cœli manat deliciis  
Introitus Mariæ. Gloria Patri, &c.  
Cœli manat, &c.

There are three proper hymns to this office. It is not certain to whom they are to be ascribed, but all of them are of great beauty; their length, however, debars us from giving them *in extenso*. The first, that sung at Vespers, is written in a trochaic metre, similar to that of the "Pange lingua," and is composed of six strophes, each in their turn made up of six verses.

The poem begins by calling on the faithful to celebrate the festival of their "Glorious Mother," to implore her intercession:

Festum matris gloriosæ  
Plebs sancta concelebrat,  
Pietates viscerosæ  
Gratiam expostulet,  
Quam cognata copiose  
Sensit hic Elizabeth.

And goes on to tell of the meeting of Our Lady and St. Elizabeth, in that concise and pithy language so characteristic of mediæval hymnody. The second Elias, yet unborn—he who afterwards described himself as "the voice of one crying in the wilderness"—is for our poet "the voice which speaketh not," the silent voice; and two lines suffice to tell the story of his sanctification:

Vox non loquens exultavit  
Ad verbi præsentiam:  
Lo! the speechless Voice exulted  
At the presence of the Word:

The hymn concludes with a prayer to the Triune God, to Him who is almighty and all merciful, and reigneth for ever and ever, that through Mary's prayers, He would vouchsafe continually to protect and guard His people, that, having thus safely passed through the troubles and trials of this life, they may finally attain the eternal felicity of the next. The hymn at Matins is conceived in the same strain. The poet again directs our gaze to the Virgin Mother of God. "See!" he cries, "the world's salvation coming forth with her heavenly burthen; guileless in gait, pure in heart, arrayed in dazzling beauty."

He gathers together some of the types by which Our Lady is represented in the Old Testament. She is the burning bush which was not consumed, the rod of Aaron, the fleece of Gideon, the valiant woman whose children shall rise up and call her blessed, for hath she not crushed the dragon's head?

After making mention of various others, he thus continues :

Sic in mundo præter morem  
Notum fecit Dominus,  
Castis mater Conditorum  
Circumdat visceribus :  
Terra gignit Salvatorem  
Nubibus pluentibus.

He then sings of the wondrous charity which induced the expectant Mother to take that journey into the hill country to visit St. Elizabeth, and of the blessing which she brought on the home of Zachariah, and finally concludes with a doxology.

The hymn at Lauds is written in Sapphic verse, and is, in its way, no less beautiful than the two former. The poet begins by invoking that "bright and guiding ocean star which brought forth the Sun of Righteousness."

O salutaris fulgens stella maris,  
Generans prolem veritatis solem  
Mater bonorum clemens famulorum  
Suscipe votum.

"We fain," he continues, "would raise our feeble voices to hymn thy joy and honour, thou rose of the morning, whom charity constraineth to fill the mountain passes with thy fragrance; but what tongue of mortal man can hope to tell of all thy glory?"

He then again betakes himself to intercession: "O most mighty Queen," he cries out, "from thy lofty throne in Heaven, bend down thine ear to the voice of Rachel weeping for her children, and harken to her supplication;" and goes on:

O mediatrix, orbis reparatrix,  
Laus angelorum, salus infirmorum,  
Flos feminarum, hostem animarum  
Reprime sævum,

and brings the poem to a close with a doxology.

The Festival of the Purification was also observed as a greater double (Sarum). In many respects the office greatly resembles our own. The first four antiphons, the Little Chapter, the V and R after the hymn, and the collect at first Vespers, the Invitatorium, the hymn, the Psalms, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th responsories



at Matins, the 1st and 3rd antiphon, the chapter, the hymn, the *Ÿ* and *R* afterwards, and the collect at Lauds, and, finally, the antiphons and collects at the Little Hours, which of course were taken from Lauds, are all identical with those which we still use.

Nor does the similarity end here. The seventh responsory at Matins is our sixth in an abbreviated form, while the *R* of the eighth is the same as the *R* of our seventh. The *Ÿ* however, which follows it, is different and well worthy of notice, "*Symeon in manibus infirmitatem, accepit: sed majestatem intus agnovit et dixit. Tu es vere,*" &c. The fourth and part of the fifth lessons are taken from that portion of St. Ambrose's commentary on the gospel for the day, which forms our seventh and ninth lessons. The antiphon to the *Benedictus* is the same which we say at first Vespers at the *Magnificat*; while the single antiphon, under which all the Psalms are said at second Vespers, is identical with our first antiphon, and the antiphon at the *Magnificat* is the same as that which we say at the *Benedictus*. The rest of the office is altogether different from ours. The antiphons at Matins form a sort of amplification or commentary on some verse or verses of their Psalms, and some of them are very happily conceived. Take, for instance, the second, on the words "*Cœli enarrant gloriam Dei . . . in sole posuit tabernaculum suum,*" &c.

*Cœli reginam Maria te jure fatemur;  
Ex cujus thalamo processit justitiæ sol.*

Or the fourth, on the Psalm "*Eructavit cor meum,*" where the antiphon takes the form of a salutation addressed to the Mother of God. "*Heavenly Grace is poured abroad in thy lips*" are the words which the Church of Salisbury here puts into the mouth of her choir,—"*Heavenly Grace is poured abroad in thy lips, O Mary, most chaste Virgin, thou who dost repair the ills of the whole earth, and therefore the King of Kings hath blessed thee for ever, and hath made thee, clad in glorious apparel, to sit at his right hand.*"

Take, again, the third, on the Psalm "*Domini est terra,*" where we are told that "*the Virgin Mother of Him who created the heavens and the earth, in that she hath clean hands, and a pure and blessed heart, hath been deemed worthy to go up into the fertile mountain of God.*" Or the sixth, on the Psalm "*Fundamenta ejus,*" where Our Lady is invoked as "*the tabernacle of God, the glory of Holy Purity, the gate of Sion, whose foundations are of sapphires ever shining, who alone was found pleasing to the Lord Most High.*"

Aula Maria Dei casti titulusque pudoris ;  
 Porta Syon rutilis semper fundata saphyris,  
 Quæ sola ex cunctis placuisti casta Tonanti :  
 Suscipe servorum miserans pia vota tuorum.

There is a proper hymn at first Vespers, which was also sung at second Vespers when the festival occurred within Septuagesima. In other years St. Bernard's sequence "*Lætabundus*" was sung instead, as on the Feast of the Assumption. It is uncertain who is the author of this hymn. It is written in Sapphic verse. We give it *in extenso* :

1. Quod chorus vatū venerandus olim  
 Spiritu Sancto cecinit repletus,  
 In Dei factum genitrice constat  
 Esse Maria.
2. Hæc Deum cœli Dominumque terræ  
 Virgo concepit peperitque Virgo:  
 Atque post partum meruit manere  
 Inviolata.
3. Quem senex justus Symeon in ulnis  
 In domo sumpsit Domini gavisus:  
 Ob quod optatum meruit videre  
 Lumine Christum.
4. Tu libens votis petimus precantum  
 Regis æterni genetrix faveto:  
 Clara quæ celsi renitens olympi  
 Regna petisti.
5. Sit Deo nostro decus et potestas,  
 Sit salus perpes, sit honor perennis,  
 Qui poli summa residet in arce  
 Trinus et Unus.

AMEN.\*

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\* That which in times gone by, filled by the power of the Holy Ghost, the glorious choir of seers hymned, is, at length accomplished, in Mary the Virgin Mother.

A Virgin, she conceived; a Virgin, she brought forth; a most pure and stainless Virgin she ever remained.

Her Child is God of Heaven, and Lord of all the Earth; and Him the aged Simeon, in God's Holy Temple, enfolding in his arms, proclaims with joyous gladness. Lo! he cries, the Christ, the Desire of mine eyes, the longed-for light!

O Mother of the Eternal King, thou, who clad in shining brightness now dwellest in Heaven above, bend down thine ear to the voice of our supplication.

While to Our God, who reigneth on high, in Heaven's lofty citadel, the Three in One, be all honour, glory, majesty and power, for ever and ever.

AMEN.

A somewhat unusual feature about this office, is that a sequence or prose, which we give below, was inserted at second Vespers between the responsory and the hymn. It is still sung by the Dominicans on the Feast of the Purification, but at first Vespers instead of at second.

Inviolata integra et casta es Maria  
Quæ es effecta fulgida cœli porta.  
O Mater alma Christi charissima,  
Suscipe laudum pia præconia,  
Nostra ut pura pectora sint et corpora,  
Quæ nunc flagitant devota voxque et corda  
Tu da per precata dulcissima  
Nobis perpetua frui vita.  
O benigna quæ sola  
Inviolata permansisti.

The Festival of the Nativity was observed as a Greater Double (*Sarum*), and with an octave. There is much in this office in common with our own. The Psalms, with the exception of those at first Vespers, the hymns, the antiphons at Lauds, the Gospel, the fourth and fifth responsories, and the beginnings of the first and second are all Roman, while the antiphon to the Magnificat at first Vespers is the same as that which we sing at second Vespers.

As to the rest of the office, the antiphons at first Vespers, and those at Matins, are written in much the same style as the antiphons at Lauds. They are all beautiful, and several of them most appropriate, the second at First Vespers especially so: "O blessed race from whence Christ was born! How glorious is the Virgin who brought forth the King of Heaven."

Beata progenies unde Christus natus est:  
Quam gloriosa est Virgo quæ cœli regem genuit.

And again, the third at Matins, where we are told that "When the most Holy Virgin was born the whole world was filled with light." And then there follows, as it were, a cry of exultation, "O happy race from whence she sprang! O Holy stock and blessed fruit thereof!"

Quando nata est virgo sacratissima tunc illuminatus est mundus,  
stirps beata radix sancta, et benedictus fructus ejus.

The invitatory at Matins is worthy of notice. In substance it is much the same as ours, though the wording is altogether different:

Corde et voce simul  
Christum regem veneremur.  
Virginis et Matris  
Jubiletur nobilis ortus.

Of the remaining responsories, the seventh and eighth are written in the same style as our own, while the third, sixth, and ninth are rhythmical. Let it suffice as an example of the rest to quote this last, which is particularly striking: "To-day hath arisen Mary, the Star of the Sea, she who is to bring forth the Sun of Righteousness, the Lord of the Universe. Rejoice, ye faithful, to behold the divine light."

R. Solem justiciæ Regem paritura supremum,  
Stella Maria maris hodie processit ad ortum.

V. Cernere divinum lumen gaudete fideles.

The Festival of the Conception was observed as a Lesser Double, the equivalent to our Duplex Major. The whole office, with the exception of the first six lessons, and that the words *conceptio*, *concepta*, &c., are substituted for *nativitas*, *nata*, &c., is identical with that of the Nativity.

The Annunciation was also kept as a Duplex Minor. There is little in the Sarum office appointed to be said on this feast which is identical with the corresponding portions of that contained in the Roman Breviary, much, however, which is very similar. The Psalms, except those at first Vespers, when the Ferial Psalms were said, the hymns, the little chapters at both Vespers, at Lauds, and at Tierce, the antiphon to the last Psalm at Lauds, the Gospel and the Collect, are all exactly similar to those contained in the Roman Breviary. Moreover, the second antiphon at Lauds is the same as our third, while the third is what we sing at the Benedictus, the chapter at Sext is our chapter at None, the short responsories at Sext and None are respectively what we say at Tierce and Sext, and the second responsory at Matins, though with a different ending, is the same as our third.

The rest of the office, though conceived in much the same spirit, is different. One antiphon at Matins, the first of the third nocturn, is identical with that which the Roman Breviary appoints for the second antiphon to the same nocturn on the Feast of Our Lady's Expectation.

The ninth responsorium, also said at first Vespers, is well worthy of remark. It takes the form of a most beautiful invocation to Our Lady. Animated, doubtless, by that dramatic spirit, so dear to the liturgists of mediæval times, the author places himself in the presence of the Maiden of Nazareth, and beseeches her to consent to become the Mother of God, and thereby deliver the world from sin. "O Virgin," he cries out, "O Virgin, most dear to Christ! Thou who dealest in mighty actions, bring help to the wretched. Come to the assistance of us who continually cry to thee. For we are hard pressed by the burthen of our iniquity, and there is

none to deliver us." Then follows the *Ÿ* and *R* before Lauds, in which the same idea is continued. "Send forth thy Lamb, O Lord, the ruler of the universe, from the rock of the desert to the mountain of the daughter of Sion."

*R.* Christi virgo dilectissima virtutum operatrix : opem fer miseris. Subveni domina clamantibus ad te jugiter.

*Ÿ.* Quoniam peccatorum mole premimur : et non est qui adjuvet.

*Ÿ.* Emitte agnum, Domine, dominatorem terræ.

*R.* De petra deserti ad montem filiæ Syon.

The antiphon to the Magnificat at second Vespers is equally beautiful. Here Our Lady is invoked as "the Virgin Mother of God, from whom the eternal light hath vouchsafed to shine on us."

*Ant.*—Virgo Dei genetrix ex qua lux oriri dignata est æterna, intende supplicum tuorum preces servorum : et per tua sancta suffragia possidere mereamur regna cælestia.

The Festival of Our Lady of Snow, kept on August 5, took rank, according to Sarum use, as a Simple with nine lessons, and a triple invitatory, that is to say, it was what we call a semi-double. The office is almost identical with our own. It will be sufficient, therefore, merely to call attention to those points in which it differs.

None of the lessons are taken from Scripture. The first six contain a somewhat lengthy account of the beautiful legend told in our breviary in the lessons of the second nocturn, while the last three, as with us, are by the Venerable Bede. They are rather longer than ours, however, and the reading is not always quite the same. The third responsorium at Matins, which is altogether different from that which we use, is somewhat curious, and deserves notice.

*R* Continet in gremio  
Cælum terramque regentem  
Virgo Dei genetrix,  
Proceres comitantur herilem.  
Per quos orbis ovans  
Christo sub principe pollet.

*Ÿ* Virgo Dei genetrix  
Quem totus non capit orbis  
In tua se clausit  
Viscera factus homo.

Much more might be written on this interesting subject ; and without some account of the Little Office, the weekly Saturday Commemorations, and the daily Memorials of Our Lady in the

Divine Office, the task which we had intended to fulfil is far from complete, but we have already presumed far too greatly on the patience of our readers, and would not put their good nature to a still further trial.

The above sketch of the Sarum festal offices of the Blessed Virgin is perforce but cursory; nevertheless, enough has been said, we would fain hope, to afford the Catholic some idea of the manner in which the feasts of Our Lady were celebrated here in England in Catholic times, and also to show those Anglicans who declaim against the "Mariolatry" of the "Italian Mission," that the *cultus* which the modern "Romanist" still offers to the Virgin Mother of God, is identical, both in thought and feeling, with the official homage paid to her by the "Church of England" before the Reformation—in the days when this land of ours gloried in the title of Mary's Dowry.

F. E. GILLIAT SMITH.

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# ART. IX.—HOW TO SAVE THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS.

1. "WHAT do you think of the Education Bill, now that you have had experience of it?" is a question frequently asked. We think it will render two great services: first, in that it is good; and secondly, in that it is perilously dangerous. It is good because it has brought seasonable aid to thousands of poor folk, to whom the school-pence made all the difference between anxiety and ease, between want and comparative comfort. It is good because it has set teachers free from the worry of collecting fees, while it has freed scholars from being sent home again because they had come empty-handed. In the South of England especially it has brought aid to managers, enabling them to spend a little more on their schools. In the North of England, where school-fees are higher, it has brought considerable relief to parents and even to managers, who have legal power to charge the difference between the old fee and the fee grant. In many districts the average attendance has increased sensibly through the relief thus given to poor parents, as in one mission where it rose 176 within three weeks. In a school, which the managers had declared free, with a prospective loss of £200 a year in fee money, the average attendance has risen to such an extent that the anticipated loss has been actually turned into a profit. Another school within the month ran up its average attendance by 206 new-comers. Many schools have made smaller strides, and none have lost in numbers. We believe that in the North of England, where it was expected that the Catholic schools would lose, they have gained rather than lost in attendance and even in fees.

It was thought by many that free education would bring about poor attendances. The principle that people only care for what they pay for, and the examples adduced from America by Mr. Fitch and others, that free schools mean irregular schools, were considered to have established foregone conclusions. But two things were left out of sight: first, that the attendance officers and the Courts have taught worthless parents that there is a power by their side which they cannot set at nought; and secondly, that a public sentiment exists among the poor in favour of education. Had the country begun with free education, bad results would have accrued; but as assisted education has come in upon an established system and a tradition in favour of schooling, the results follow the tradition rather than the principle referred to and the American example. As yet, however, it is too early to form a decided judgment. As to free education in itself, we regard

it as a blessing. It is no use discussing this question at present. It may suffice to say that the Catholic Church was the first to declare education and learning free. In the Middle Ages, free schools were opened all over Europe, and the Roman Pontiffs were emphatic in declaring that knowledge ought to be imparted without charge or price. Free schools and free libraries were first introduced by the Catholic Church, and down to the latest date the universities, elementary schools, and libraries of the Papal States were free to all the people.

But, having said this much, we must add that the present Bill, giving practically free education, is fraught with a great danger for the future. This very danger, however, will be serviceable, if it rouse us to a sense of the situation and awaken our dormant faculties. There is now but a single plank between us and the deep sea. Before our people slept in a certain security, now they rub their eyes and say the next educational measure may draw the bolt, and we may all be hopelessly plunged into one common national system, and drift by chance we know not whither.

We have now to take a brief survey of the peril before us, and then to consider how we are to brace ourselves up to meet it. We believe that the training, the mental bracing, the hearty exertion that must be called forth will turn out to be most serviceable. We do not court the dangers, but since we are confronted with them, we should put forth all our strength, and by so doing we shall become stronger than ever before.

2. Two dangers are ahead, as indirect effects of the new law: the one, usurpation by the State of the rights of parents; the other, acquiescence by parents in their own spoliation by the State.

A large number of Englishmen of the Radical school are perfectly prepared to give over the whole control of education to the State—not to the State as represented by the Education Department, but as represented in each locality by the ratepayers. Decentralisation of power is the order of the day; the people who hold votes must be flattered; the ratepayers are to exercise supreme power in the matter of education, as in everything else. Demos is young and hungry, and appeased he must be.

The National Liberal Association has just issued its programme. In it occurs the following: "*Education: Establishment of representative school authority in each district council area, working in concert with elective boards of managers in each parish. Free education from top to bottom in all elementary schools receiving public grants, together with popular representative control.*"

The time is past when any one would dream of placing in the hands of an educated, responsible central department of the State the tremendous powers involved in the proposals for local control.

No one would trust a department, however enlightened, however much under the eye of Parliament, with the detailed powers to be placed in the hands of local boards. There is a wholesome dread of entrusting too great an authority to the Government. There is no desire to allow Government to interfere with or curtail the liberty of the subject beyond a certain limit. But it is not simply dislike of despotism which dictates the jealousy. The new policy is one of despotism, of the most hateful and hopeless kind. It parcels out the country into little areas, and declares that the majority in a contest at the poll—the one man majority—shall rule and control the whole population within that area in the vital matter of education. It shall determine whether any religion, and, if so, what religion, or what phase of religion, be it part of an old religion or the semblance of a new one, shall be taught in the public schools, at which attendance shall be compulsory.

There never was a despotism or a usurpation of a more detestable character. Julian the Apostate thought he could extirpate Christianity by settling the question of education; but Julian's measures were child's-play compared to the engines of destruction which the Liberals and Radicals are prepared to invent and to plant all over the country. The peculiarly odious character of this policy consists in this, that it will train the people in despotism, that it will set the population up in arms in every area, after having divided them into factions. They are to fight it out amongst themselves, and the victor is to possess *parental* rights in the matter of education. He is to take the place of the family, and to dictate and determine the education to be given to each and all. This form of despotism goes down with the public at present, because it is labelled "popular control." Its ultimate results will be hideous.

At present the Voluntary Schools are 76 per cent. of all the schools of the country. The Church of England, with the *National Society* and the *sanior pars* of the Anglican clergy, will no doubt fight for their own hand, and, if yield they must, will yield only one position after another. But the Church of England is not to be trusted. It is honeycombed with clergymen and laymen who are affected by rationalism and the advanced liberalism which is for nationalising education. Multitudes are churchmen only in name, and are prepared to sell anything for ready money. Many so-called High Churchmen would delight in any measure that might deal a wound to the Catholic Church, and they would probably sacrifice their own religion, if by so doing they could stab ours. *St. Matthew's Guild* is not a very authoritative or a very powerful body, but it contains between two and three hundred members, of whom seventy-five are clergymen of the Church of England.

This association has recently issued a manifesto on "The Duty of the Clergy towards Board Schools and Elementary Education."

The following paragraphs exhibit the spirit which is at work, and may be quoted as one of the signs of the times in which we live :

As a rule we say, when School Boards are established, let the "voluntary" Church schools be given up, and the money now spent on them added, say, to the small stipends of the assistant clergy [*sic*], or devoted to some Church work. And the buildings, which if they are not claimed by the Church now may soon be confiscated by the State, could well be used for the education of the adults, and for the organising of the Church in the parish. . . .

To get rid of the religion which is established and endowed in the Board Schools at present, which is a positive hindrance to the spread of the Catholic faith, and the teaching of which out of the rates and taxes is a gross injustice to all Catholic citizens. And to get the duty of the parent and the priest to train the child in the elements of the faith again recognised.

The common school, secular, universal, free, is what all English Catholics look forward to. It involves the disestablishment and disendowment of Protestant dissent, and will be the severest blow which can be struck against the influence of the anti-national Italian mission in England.

A vigorous debate followed upon the proposal of this manifesto, but it was carried by two-thirds of the meeting.

What we observe about this is: (1) That there is a movement within the Church of England in favour of universal Board Schools which shall exclude all the claims of God upon the soul; (2) that its despotism goes just one degree beyond that of the doctrinaire Liberals, inasmuch as it refuses even to the ratepayers a right to say whether they will have any religion taught within these Board schools; and (3) the professed motive is to "dish" the Nonconformists and the Catholics—the former now getting what religion they want in the Board schools, and the Catholics getting what they require in their own P. E. schools.

The main view of these holy Churchmen is, therefore, professedly to enrich their own poor parsons, and to injure the religion of Catholics and of Protestant Dissenters. Their testimony is valuable, so far as it admits that the destruction of Voluntary Schools will be "the severest blow" to religion.

It is, therefore, manifest that doctrinaires like Mr. L. Stanley can count upon an alliance with a certain fanatical class of High Churchmen, as well as with Broad Churchmen, so far as a universal compulsory system of Board schools is concerned, and that the number of these allies is likely rather to increase than to diminish. The appeal put forth in the manifesto is direct and

personal to so many—"the money now spent on Voluntary schools to be added to the small stipends of the assistant clergy!" The thought of the poor wives and the multitude of little starveling children at once silences any rising objection. How kind, tender, and humane!

These men, then, are ready to play into the hands of the State, and to strengthen the politicians and Nonconformists, who declare without hesitation or misgiving that education is simply a function of the State, State authority overriding parental and domestic rights in the matter of education.

The other danger referred to is lest parents, Catholic as well as non-Catholic, should by degrees be wheedled out of their paternal rights, and, worse than this, lose the elementary sense of those inherent rights.

The State, by degrees relieving parents of all payment, of all thought for the instruction of their children, makes the path very smooth and easy. Surely the parents will be tempted to say: "It is fair; we have no trouble and no expense, and the child gets admirably taught, he has beautiful and costly rooms to sit in, every kind of advantage in physical exercises, games, and prizes, is offered to him. If he is clever he has all the world before him, like other children, and if he is dull they will do the best they can for him. There is no cruelty, no harshness, no bullying. If the State, or the local authority, does exceed its power a bit, if it is not quite right, as the clergy state, to make over education entirely to the State, we must put up with something. We can't have everything our own way. We are getting a great deal for what we give up. All expense and trouble are taken off our hands."

The argument is moderately specious, and will be certain to win assent unless a vigorous appeal be made to faith, and to the religious sense of parents; and unless, moreover, the parents become thoroughly committed to the Voluntary system, by obtaining a place on the committees of management, and by the habit of making some voluntary sacrifices for the maintenance of their own schools.

The argument drawn from the elementary principle of nature, that parents have a right and a duty to educate their children, will be met by the assertion that they approve of the education offered by the State or by the local authority—they will say it is precisely the education we desire for our children.

The argument that the State has usurped parental rights, that the desires of the minority are subordinated to those of the majority, that a dangerous despotism is being established, which, by interfering with parental and domestic rights, may at last ruin the liberties of the people, &c., will be largely discounted by

the thought that we are a practical people, that we are all working together, and that if we go a little too far we can reform whenever the need of reform is seen. Trust the people, they will say.

The really telling argument is the religious one. It is this alone that will give nerve, backbone, and determination to our people. It is the argument that is moving the Church of England and a section of the Wesleyans, who hold denominational schools. The Church of England have, in addition to this, a political argument—their schools are bound up with their existence as a State Church. Their political motive may be as strong with them as their religious one.

The deepest conviction which presses Catholics to fight for their own schools is this: that the glory of God, the salvation of the soul, and a happy eternity far outweigh any temporal or material consideration; that these are objects worth fighting for, and that unless we are prepared to contend for them, we might as well give up religion altogether, and conform to what may be the pagan civilisation of the day. With Catholics it is just a question of heaven or hell, and they know that the best chance of gaining the one and avoiding the other after death is a good Catholic education. Catholics are convinced that instruction in religion and the affairs of salvation must go *pari passu* with secular instruction, not that they need take up the same amount of time for instruction, but that they ought to accompany it. Besides the daily teaching of Christian doctrine, another work must be accomplished, the will and disposition must be habitually trained to act upon religious motives: these motives must pervade the whole school life of children, if they are to become so deeply set in their nature that they shall somehow or other survive even after years of youthful neglect and sinfulness. It is well known that a child that has been deeply and thoroughly grounded in religion during ten or twelve years of childhood, will always in later life have a pole star to which the needle of his intention will naturally turn. Thus a good Catholic education may at last be the salvation of those who have gone most utterly astray. It is the very best gift a parent can give his child, turn he out ever so ill. But what will be its effect upon others? It will have kept them straight through life, it will be their armour in the midst of the world, it will secure their virtue and their happiness here as well as hereafter.

Catholics understand that character is worth more than learning, even in this life; and that the character of their children cannot be formed upon the Catholic type except in Catholic schools.

In non-Catholic schools, frequented by all sorts of children,



what security is there for Catholic faith, Catholic morality, either from the influence of teachers or of scholars. It is impossible to speak of the depravity and impurity to which Catholic children are exposed when they mix with children who have been steeped in sin, and who scarcely know virtue from vice, and are brought up without religious principles.

Again, what can make up for the influence of religious teachers, whether Brothers or Sisters, of mistresses who have gone through the careful religious training of Notre Dame, or of masters who have been brought up to consider their religion to be the chief object of their thoughts and affections?

Now all of this, and all that this implies, would be hopelessly lost were Board Schools to take the place of Voluntary Schools. This, then, is our supreme, our fatal danger, a danger threatening us in the near future—that Catholic public Elementary Schools will be abolished, and universal State or Board Schools established. There are persons who never see, never look beyond their noses. They will say that our prognostication is a nightmare—that the English people cannot desire to bring about such evils; that we may safely go on as we have done, that the old ways are safe and easy, and it is troublesome to make changes.

We quite believe that the English people do not desire to bring about any evils. The devil himself does not always show his hand. A great party of the English people desire to improve education, to establish a national system, to rid it of all unnecessary encumbrances, and they do not desire to inflict what they would call an injury on any one.

3. But let us look certain things in the face. The mass of the thinking English people argues thus: "Whatever may be said of the advantage of denominational education—and very much must be said for it—there is an economical matter which must be adjusted in a business-like manner. The country is now spending out of the Exchequer five millions a year upon public Elementary Education. It is impossible to entrust so large a sum of money to the one-man-management which is now practically universal in voluntary schools. The priest or the parson, of course, has a couple of dummies who are styled co-managers, and give their signatures when asked for; but they mean nothing. To place so large a sum in the hands of private individuals is contrary to business habits, and to the whole system of public administration. Here is the whole nation decentralising, establishing everywhere local control, teaching the people more and more to manage their own affairs, and can it be expected that the nation will tolerate much longer the anomaly, whereby a certain number of priests and parsons shall each singly in his locality dispense their people's share in some five millions of

education money? We cannot allow 76 per cent. of the popular education of the country to remain in the hands of private individuals, of self-constituted managers. Be they ever so estimable, they are mild-minded despots in the midst of a national system of popular and representative government and administration. They are a survival, no longer in harmony with the times."

If the Voluntary and Denominational Schools are closed or fused into a national Board School system, this will be brought about—not upon the plea of hostility to religion, but—upon the economical and administrative plea, by those who clamour everywhere for popular control.

Indeed, if you were to carefully examine the speeches, the papers, the programmes of the Liberal or Secularist party you will find that their main popular cry is for local control. The last Education Bill—which has placed between two and three millions more of the public money in the hands of the priests and parsons—is admitted by the Conservative party, in fact, by every one, to be an additional reason for some kind of local control. We may take it for granted that the one-man-management system is doomed, and nothing on earth can be done to strengthen or commend it. However well it may have worked in its own time, we can no more return to what we were fifty years ago, than we can return to the Heptarchy.

The question which managers must put to themselves is this: Shall we stand as we are until the advancing waves of the popular movement have not only licked our feet, but have risen to our waists, and carried us away into the wide ocean with every mark and sign of our existence? or, Shall we set to work at once, and meet the popular demand by moulding and establishing a system of local control, so reasonable, so real, and so effective, as that it shall satisfy—not the extremists, who have hidden and unavowed aims to gain—but the great mass of fair-minded, sensible English men and women?

Of course there are heroic Conservatives among the clergy and laity, who prefer to be carried out to sea, and to become as broken spars, that may here and there make their mark in a percussion, until they are broken into fragments, and have been lost in the countless wrecks which disappear at last we know not where. These men are too good for this world, too good to live!

*Non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda e passa.*

For ourselves, and in this we may speak for the overwhelming mass of Catholics, clergy and laity, we must look to the practical way of saving souls, without the compromise of any Catholic principle. To place the fate of education in the hands of a local

authority, created by ratepayers will be an intolerable surrender of Catholic principle, and of the law of nature. But to place the education of children in the hands of a local authority created by parents and by their representatives would be in perfect harmony with Catholic teaching, and with the natural law.

In other words we are prepared to accept the principle of "local control," only it must be "local control by the parents" who have direct and personal rights over the children, not "local control by ratepayers," who have no more rights over other peoples' children than they have over the birds of the air or the fishes of the sea—the utmost they could claim would be an assurance that their money had been rightly expended, and nothing more. The reasonableness of this view has obtained a wide acceptance. It has not only been approved and adopted by a number of the Catholic Bishops, but it has found a widespread, even a national acceptance, outside the Catholic hierarchy and clergy. Indeed, it is absolutely necessary that it should become a national view of the case, if it is to prevail; and there would be little practical good in attempting any remedy, however excellent in itself, unless there were a chance of its national acceptance.

Now this kind of local control, founded upon the rights of parents instead of upon those of ratepayers, is just that fair kind of compromise which alone can save the Voluntary Schools. Happily it is not the invention, the fad, of any individual, however well intentioned or high placed. It is the *veritas quaerens intellectum*, it is the popular feeling seeking acceptance. This came out with remarkable force while the Education Bill was passing through the Committee of the House of Commons. It is quite worth while to bring together various testimonies which justify our actual contention. Here are extracts from speeches in the House of Commons.

Mr. COBB, speaking for the agricultural districts, said there was nothing the people so much desired as that there should be *some element of popular control* over the schools to which they sent their children.

Mr. WHITBREAD said that, as an ounce of practice was worth a ton of theory, he would relate his experience as a member of a Voluntary Church of England School Committee at Bedford. There was considerable friction, not among the members of the Committee, but in the working of the school. Constant complaints were made by parents on matters mostly of a trivial character, and the friction produced was most detrimental to the interests of the school and of the children. The *parents met and elected two representatives*, and from that day to this there had been no complaints whatever (hear, hear).

Mr. S. SMITH shared the belief that, under existing circumstances, a moderate system of representation by the parents would really meet the *practical necessities of the case*.

Mr. J. B. ROBERTS objected *not to religious education but to denominational control*, which meant *the control of the clergyman* of the parish.

Mr. TOMLINSON said that he was sure some solution of the question might be found in the association of *a few representative parents in the management of the schools*.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT said that any voluntary arrangement by which *parents or subscribers could be represented more largely than they were at present in the management of the schools would be gladly welcomed by him and by those who thought with him*.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, if you have popular representation you must have some sort of election, and I say *it would be better to associate parents with the School Boards, as has been suggested, and as has been already done under the present system*.

Mr. LLOYD MORGAN thought the time had come when further public money ought not to be granted to perpetuate the present system unless the principle of popular control were introduced. Large numbers of schools were going to be supported entirely by Government money, yet the Government were going to hand over the management of those schools *to the clergyman*, and one or two people in the parish of his own way of thinking, *without any popular control whatever*. He entered his protest against such a course.

Mr. EDWARDS-HEATHCOTE said that as to the question of local control, he believed it to be an absolutely vital question so far as the existence of Voluntary Schools in the future was concerned. *Unless the difficulty of the managers of the Voluntary Schools being the nominees of the clergy was got over the voluntary system must collapse* (hear, hear). *The Government might possibly get over the difficulty by substituting "parental control" for "popular control"* (hear, hear). He thought it was absolutely essential to the future of voluntary schools that the parents should have some voice in the management of the school which their children attended (hear, hear). He would venture to urge the Government as strongly as he could to devise some simple machinery by which the parents might be fairly represented in the management of the voluntary schools. In his opinion that would go a long way towards getting over the difficulty, that a clerical despotism, however kindly, was not in accordance with the instincts of the age, and was not therefore likely to conduce to the stability of the voluntary school system (hear, hear).

Mr. BRYCE hoped that the Government would admit the justice of the claim that there should be *some kind of popular representation on the managing Committee of the voluntary schools*.

In the debate on the Bill which took place in the House of Lords, similar opinions were expressed as to the advisability of giving parents a place on the board of management of Voluntary Schools. But we need not quote.

A short time since the Archbishop of Canterbury speaking at a large conference of the clergy and laity said :

I cannot see why in any single school there should not

be a beginning made in associating parents, chosen or elected, with the management (cheers). The one-manager-system has produced most excellent results. But, then, this is not a country, this is not a time in which we could put into any practical working the often asserted truth, that of all kinds of government the best and the most effective is that of a beneficent despot; and as we should not think in any of the departments of life of recommending the rule of the beneficent despot as the best that could be adopted, so neither can we, I am certain, in the management of a single school. We are not living in a time or country in which the beneficence of despots will do what the goodwill and combination of the church people of England will do (cheers). Therefore I think that the advice of Mr. Talbot upon this subject and the evidence given on the subject by Dr. Springett will have very considerable influence here and throughout the diocese. . . .

It was very much urged in the House of Commons that they should allow something like representative managements in these schools. Representative management was especially urged from the parents' point of view. It was politic, it was wise, it was right to make the basis of their schools as wide as possible, and to give as many persons as possible as great an interest in their schools as they could. He most earnestly urged on all managers, lay and clerical, to remove any cause of offence which might exist. If there were present any of the one-manager race of persons that had been pointed at with a finger of scorn in the House of Commons, he could not help saying, and saying it plainly, that they would do wisely for the sake of the cause they had at heart to associate with themselves managers to represent the parents. He was very glad himself to welcome the assistance of parents where it could be given by voluntary arrangement.

In the Upper House of Convocation, the Bishop of London thought that some representatives of the parents ought to be on all committees of school management. Such an arrangement, he believed, would tell very much on the efficiency of the schools, and it would put the Voluntary Schools on a very much firmer political foundation than at present, and make them very difficult to be assailed in the future. It would increase the general interest, and though there might be some friction at first, it would in the end do good. The Bishop of Norwich said there *was a general feeling in the country in favour of such boards of management*. Finally a resolution was passed declaring that *in all cases it is desirable that parents should elect representatives on the committee of management*.

The National Society of the Church of England fairly represents the mind of the Church of England when it says:

We very strongly urge upon these schools that they should enlarge the management to the utmost, and that they should associate with

themselves in their school committees one or more representatives chosen from among the parents of the children attending their schools. We do this upon the double ground that the presence of parents on school committees will lead to greater interest being taken by parents generally in the welfare of their "own" schools, and that committees so constituted will supply a powerful argument to be used whenever any renewed attempt is made to insist upon so-called representative control.

The abundant testimony we have cited shows that the idea of substituting the principle of "parental control" for that of "popular control" represents a widely spread desire. Its adherents are increasing in all parts of the country. Our opinion might be still further strengthened, if needed, by communications which we have received from Government inspectors, politicians, and statesmen.

4. Catholics see their own interests, and are not behindhand. Some of the dioceses have already taken the question of school management in hand, and others are preparing to do so. By way of illustration, in one Diocese, a *Diocesan Board of Education* has been created, consisting of fifteen members, lay and clerical, chosen and presided over by the Bishop. This Board in some way corresponds to the Education Department, and superintends the elementary educational work of the diocese. It forms a Court of appeal when difficulties and disputes arise, and its members sit as assessors with the Bishop. The Board issued, as its first act, the following :

#### REGULATIONS AND CONDITIONS

*For the Election by Parents of Two Members for the Committee of School Management in Catholic Public Elementary Schools, within the Diocese of —.*

1. None but Parents and Guardians whose children are actually attending the School shall have a right to vote at this Election.
2. None but Catholics (not being paid teachers in a P. E. School) shall be eligible to serve as Managers of a Catholic School.
3. Notice of the election shall be given in the accompanying form at all the Masses on the Sunday preceding the Election. A notice of the Election should likewise be given in the Schools at least three days before such Election.
4. Before proceeding to the Election, the Rector, or his representative, who will preside at the meeting, shall ask for the names of the Candidates for election.

The Candidates, whose number is not limited, must each be proposed and seconded by persons entitled to vote. The Election shall then take place by a show of hands, or, if a ballot be demanded, by ballot.



The two Candidates having the largest number of votes shall then be declared by the Chairman to be the Managers chosen by the Parents.

Their term of service shall be for three years. The Managers shall meet at least once a quarter, and as much oftener as summoned.

5. A person may be removed from the list of managers by an act of the Diocesan Board of Education, upon reasons adjudged by the Board to be sufficient, after due inquiry.

6. The foregoing shall be the rules and conditions for the Election of Managers and their tenure of office, until they be otherwise changed or modified by an act of this Diocesan Board of Education.

7. Communications intended for the consideration of the Board must be directed to the Hon. Secretary.

*Signed by the Chairman*

*and the Secretary to the Board.*

#### *NOTICE.*

*A Public Meeting of the Parents and Guardians of the children attending the Public Elementary Schools of this Mission will be held in \_\_\_\_\_ on \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_ o'clock, to elect two Catholic Members on the Committee of School Management.*

*Only the Parents and Guardians of children actually attending the Schools are entitled to a vote at this Election.*

The election of the school committees proceeded upon these lines, to the great and universal satisfaction of the parents and people generally. Should friction and difficulties arise, as, of course, they may, full power is retained by the Diocesan Board of Education to examine and settle them. Indeed, it appears that the Board has authority to interpose and dismiss any manager whose conduct may prove to be injurious or detrimental to the interests of the school, and it is upon this condition that the managers are elected.

There is one danger ahead which may wreck the provision made by the establishment of committees of management to safeguard our schools against the clamour for popular control—viz., that the committees may become merely nominal and useless. It has been well pointed out by a practical statesman that this form of local control will be carefully watched, and that if it turns out to be a sham, if the members never meet, if the

beneficent despot conducts the whole business of the school as heretofore, without any communication with his co-managers, the public will become informed, and the cry will be raised that the clergymen are simply incorrigible; that, like the Bourbons, they can learn nothing and forget nothing, and that the only way of dealing with them will be by removing them, and giving over the schools and the public money to local authorities established by law, and brought in under a Liberal Government.

But a very practical objection may be raised by our best and most intelligent school-managers. It may be said, with truth, that in mission after mission four thoroughly competent men are not to be found besides the priest, in matters of education. This is perfectly true. But the answer is clear. We must by degrees create what we stand in need of. And when we said that we considered that the law will render a great service in that "it is perilously dangerous," we meant precisely this, that it will lay a pressure upon the clergy, that it will constrain them by the strongest motives of conscience, by the need of saving Catholic education from destruction, to create and form fellow workers among the laity.

We are very much in the position of a nation that has never had an army of its own, but which finds itself suddenly exposed to the dangers of annexation and absorption by a neighbouring kingdom. It has never been engaged in actual warfare. It has neither soldiers nor officers, and no military tradition. If it is not prepared to forfeit its liberty, and to lose its nationality, it must prepare to resist and to fight. It will call out such men as it possesses; it will drill and encourage them; its leaders will devote themselves night and day, sparing no pains to make up by zeal and attention for the want of years of experience, and for all deficiencies. It will be a hard time for the captains, but the occasion requires sacrifice. They must meet with many disappointments, and may find themselves for years inferior in skill and power to their long disciplined neighbours. But if their hearts are in the cause, they will create what will become at last an efficient army out of their raw material.

The Catholic community in England is precisely in this state. The battle to be fought against those who would absorb or annihilate us must be fought—not by a handful of officers, but by a trained people. At present our people are not trained and educated to the level of their opponents. Many congregations are composed almost entirely of the working class; their education is of the most elementary kind, and there is very little choice among them. Among the Protestants there is everywhere a business-like middle class to draw upon, and therefore their Sunday-

schools and their other lay organisations are well equipped. Their strength lies entirely in this. We have comparatively no middle class, and in this is our weakness. But what is this confession but a motive to set us to work to create a staff of workers out of such material as we have? While the whole national movement is to place administrative power in the hands of the people, we are bound to conform to the movement, or to become overwhelmed by it. We must either find or make school-managers out of the best men in our congregations, or our schools will be taken away from us. The nation will make no exception on behalf of Catholics. If we persist in the one-man management, because no one else can manage the school but the priest, the nation will let us know that they can do better, and will form their own local authority out of the ratepayers. "You have had your chance," they will tell us; "you persisted in the mild despotism of the priest manager. We can stand the anachronism no longer; the public money must be spent under a public and popular control, and you must now surrender and submit." These are hard words—may they not come true! Any one who can discern the times must admit the danger of the situation.

It is surely a fatal mistake to complain of our material. We must make the best of what God has given us, which obviously means that we are not to make the worst of it, and to pity ourselves and discourage every one under us by lamentations from the standpoint of our superior enlightenment.

To encourage, cheer on, strengthen, bear with, teach, and hold together the best of what we have, this is the way to win confidence and to elicit hidden powers—hidden probably because they have never been drawn forth. But all this requires humility, patience, and zealous charity, not a little. There is, however, no other road to victory.

The formation of the elected committees of school management is destined, not only to satisfy the country, but to interest the parents in the schools. It was debated whether the subscribers ought not to have an equal voice with the parents in the election of managers. It was decided in one diocese at least, and we think wisely, that the election should rest exclusively with the parents. To give the vote to the subscribers would not define the rights of parents, and it would appear to condone the principle of management by ratepayers. The object we ought to have mainly in view is to preserve and emphasise by every means in our power the parental right to provide for the education of the children. The persons elected need not be parents, they may be subscribers or others having the parents' confidence. Nor ought subscribers to feel aggrieved in having no right to vote: if they

are interested in the main principle which is at stake, parental control as against ratepayers control, they ought gladly to acquiesce.

Another way in which we consider it important to stimulate the interest of parents in education is by requiring them to pay in support of the schools. The Committees, of course, will everywhere be obliged to raise voluntary subscriptions, and to appeal probably and properly to all the Catholics in the mission for help. But the parents, *quâ* parents, ought to contribute. We consider that those managers who have declared their schools free, and have filled the minds of the parents with the idea that there is nothing more to pay, have been very ill advised.

That education will in time become absolutely free from any legal fee whatever, is certain. It is of very little use, therefore, to impose a small legal fee on the parents, where this can be done for the present. The money may be useful, but it may be obtained otherwise. What we need is to provide against the day in which all legal fees will be abolished, and to prepare betimes. This can be done by taking up the old habit of bringing the school fees on Monday morning, not any longer as a legal school fee, but as a voluntary contribution. It may be of smaller amount than the old fee, but the tradition of bringing the money should be preserved. There are many ways in which the parents' voluntary contributions may be collected. Some collect them from house to house by a monthly, some by a fortnightly, and some by a weekly collection. This method has many obvious disadvantages. The best plan that we have heard of is this: The managers have a number of strong envelopes or little paper purses made, with the name of the school, and the words, "parents' voluntary school contribution," and "Mr. or Mrs. ——" printed on the outside. These purses are taken home on Friday by the children, and they are brought back with the contribution enclosed in the adhesive purse on the Monday morning. No trouble is given to the teacher beyond receiving the purses, one of the managers opens them, and puts down the amount to the name of each contributing parent. If nothing be returned, one of the managers takes an opportunity of visiting the parent, and inquiring the reason, unless he is satisfied that the person either cannot well afford to give, or that he or she has deliberately decided to contribute nothing. It is not wise to give schoolpence to the children to carry unless the pence are thus enclosed in an adhesive envelope, as it puts temptation in their way.

Our hope of the future is in our schools, and our schools can never become self-supporting. The idea that we in England could ever venture to throw off State aid and maintain effective schools, such as the Government would recognise as efficient, out

of our own private means, is a mere chimera. We must work to establish a nationally recognised right that the local or popular control shall be by parents and not by ratepayers. But we must go before the nation and show the system in actual working. For this the parents must be allowed to elect their representatives by a free and open election; they must be trusted. The managers must then be taken into confidence by the chairman, who will usually be the priest. They must be taken over the school from time to time; they must meet and sit together to discuss matters connected with the school, both financial and scholastic; they should show themselves to the inspectors, so that their existence may be perceived and reported on.

The parents need educating upon the whole of this school question, both from its political and religious side. They ought therefore to be brought together from time to time and duly instructed.

Finally, we must prepare to save the Voluntary schools by two lines of defence: the one by the establishment of a system of local control, such as has been pointed out; and the other by having so trained and interested the parents, and the whole Catholic body, in the existence of our schools, as that, when a political contest comes, all will be forearmed, thoroughly prepared, and trained to fight to the last for the rights and independence of the Voluntary schools.

EDITORIAL.

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## Science Notices.

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**Prominence Photography.**—For many years past, the methods of solar research have received no important accessions. The improvements made in them have been along lines previously struck out, and steadily pursued; there has been a total absence of successful pioneering expeditions. Now, however, at last, through the initiative of a young American, Professor George E. Hale, of Chicago, a new track has been opened, which seems likely to lead far afield. Needless to say that it takes the direction of extending still further the already large and continually growing powers of the camera.

The remarkable appendages to the sun known as "prominences" were *effectively* discovered during the total eclipse of July 8, 1842. Not but that glimpses of flame-like surroundings had been caught on earlier occasions of a similar nature, but it was then that their extraordinary appearance first challenged general attention. They show to the eye when freed, by the interposition of the moon, from the dazzling effect of direct solar radiance, in the semblance of vast pillars, or clouds, or trees of fire, erected or floating above the obscured solar limb; and the spectroscope explains their vivid crimson tint as due to the large ingredient of glowing hydrogen contained in them. The whole of their materials, moreover, are proved to be in a state of vaporous incandescence; and hence arises the possibility of viewing them spectroscopically without the aid of an eclipse. For the glare of sunlight impeding their direct visibility can be indefinitely attenuated by prismatic dispersion, which, on the contrary, has no weakening effect upon the isolated rays emitted by ignited gases. The bright lines accordingly forming the spectrum of the prominences gain, with every increase of dispersion, relatively to the background of continuous light upon which they are projected, and at last, when its fading has gone far enough, emerge distinctly to sight. This device, hit upon simultaneously by M. Janssen and Professor Norman Lockyer in 1868, has been practised ever since with enormous advantage to solar physical science. By its means, for instance, the agreement in periodicity of prominences with sun-spots has been ascertained. The numbers counted of each kind of phenomenon wax and wane together every eleven years, whereby they are shown to be only varying phases of the same fundamental disturbance. Further, the prevalence in the sun of tremendous eruptions or explosions of gaseous matter, has compelled a notice it would otherwise have escaped. Thus, pinnacles of flame may with the spectroscope be seen to tower upwards to heights of a quarter of a million of miles, or more, from the sun's edge, their explosive



shattering and dispersal into fading fragments at still greater elevations not unfrequently ensuing. A recent example of this sort of occurrence was afforded by a prominence watched by M. Jules Fényi at the Haynald Observatory, on June 17 last, which attained, in three minutes and a half, an elevation of at least 63,000 miles. The ascent of the glowing tenuous stuff composing it must accordingly have been effected at the all but incredible rate of 300 miles a second, or fifteen times that of the earth in its orbit; while another part of the same torn and agitated structure gave a measured velocity in the line of sight of no less than 520 miles a second. But for the power of continuous observation conferred by the spectroscope, it is unlikely that the rushing of these unimaginable hurricanes of fire could ever have been detected and registered, the probabilities being very great against their occurrence during the transient moments of solar eclipse.

Now it is obvious that if prominences could be photographed when the sun is not eclipsed, the facilities for their study would be indefinitely increased. And, indeed, the desirability of attaining the power to do so has been felt from the first. Nor would there be any difficulty in getting prints of the blue images of them displayed by the spectroscope, but for the rapid "fogging" of the plates through the strong actinic action of the diffused light around. An experiment made by Professor Young in 1870 was thus too little successful to encourage repetition, and a method for accomplishing the same purpose, described by Dr. Carl Braun, S.J., in 1872, obtained at the time no practical realisation. Re-invented and perfected by Professor Hale seventeen years later, it proved, nevertheless, thoroughly feasible. Its fundamental principle consisted in the building up of a complete picture of the prominence to be portrayed out of successive sectional impressions of it secured by the travelling of the object, under the guidance of properly adjusted clockwork, in front of the narrow slit of a spectroscope. The instrument employed at the Kenwood Observatory is a 12-inch equatorial, to which a large solar spectroscope is rigidly attached. A Rowland's grating gives the necessary dispersion.

Professor Hale's most striking results, however, depend upon a circumstance which he was the first to turn to account for promoting the end in view. It is this: Part of the light given by the prominences consists of a pair of violet rays due to intensely heated calcium, and known respectively as H and K. These, as derived from prominences, are sharp and bright, while the dark reversals of them in sunlight are broad and hazy; owing to which exceptional relationship, the violet-coloured prominence-images are shielded by wide rims of absorption in the atmospheric spectrum, from the competing glare which elsewhere renders it difficult to secure the necessary amount of contrast. The presence of this natural shadow has enabled Professor Hale to photograph prominences in full sunshine, not, as before, piecemeal, but all at once, through the jaws of a well-opened slit. And the prints thus obtained, as many persons in

England can testify from ocular inspection, leave absolutely nothing to be desired.

But this is not the whole of what may be expected from this happy invention. Besides the ordinary "red prominences," certain "white prominences," have, during some recent eclipses, claimed notice, and raised curiosity. Very little is yet known as to their origin and composition, and their investigation from day to day has hitherto been precluded by the continuous quality of their light. The spectro-scope finds, as it were, nothing to lay hold of by which their forms can be accentuated amid the dazzle of ordinary daylight. But it very probably may be found possible to photograph them. For, although the hydrogen constituent of red prominences is wanting to white ones, the characteristic violet lines of glowing calcium are conspicuous in their spectra, and will serve, in Professor Hale's opinion, for the registration of their images on the sensitive plate. The success of the experiment, shortly about to be tried, must throw open a most promising field for future investigation.

In a paper on "The Ultra-violet Spectrum of Solar Prominences," read before the British Association at Cardiff, the Chicago astrophysicist detailed some new and important results bearing upon the chemistry of the sun's surroundings, and he proposes to extend his method to researches into the spectra of sun-spots as well. These various additions to the resources of solar physicists are especially welcome just now, when, with the approach of a maximum of solar agitation, phenomena of particular interest may be expected to stimulate their industry and reward their zeal.

**New Nebulæ in Cygnus.**—The photographic discovery of new nebulæ has become an almost every-day occurrence. Custom has taken the edge off of wonder at the marvellous extension given to human faculties of observation by the circumstance that rays too faint to excite, even when concentrated by great telescopes, the slightest optical sensation, are nevertheless able, by accumulated tiny impacts, to shake salts of silver free from chemical bonds, and so limn out a picture, true in all its details, of the remote objects emitting them. But these pictures are not only wonderful in their mode of production, they are also, in many ways, most curiously communicative. They have already told us a great deal about the structure of nebulæ; and they go far towards proving the very significant fact that there are no nebulæ without structure. It may at least plausibly be inferred that mere inert, amorphous aggregations of cosmical material do not exist, when the vaguely terminated, widely spreading phosphorescent drifts, termed by the elder Herschel "diffused luminosities," display themselves on photographic plates, after prolonged exposures, as curdled, spiral, or streaky.

One of these, situated in Cygnus, was photographed at Heidelberg, in May and June last, by Dr. Max Wolf. The self-delineated formation was virtually new. That is to say, only its brightest portion had been catalogued by Sir John Herschel, the ramifications, stretching thence to vast distances, remaining unnoticed. Yet it is not so

much their novelty as their striking relationships which give them a claim to especial remark. For they seem, in the opinion of Dr. Wolf, confirmed by a photograph to which he gave *thirteen hours* of exposure, September 9 and 10, to connect some of the brightest stars in the constellation— $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$  Cygni among the number—with the throngs of minute stars forming the cloud-like masses of the Milky Way in that neighbourhood; and it is evident that, if the same wreaths and folds of nebulous matter which condense round large stars are really intertwined with groups of small ones, then large and small must co-exist in the same region of space, and constitute one system equally heterogeneous with that of the Pleiades.

Such a conclusion, if substantiated, would inevitably lead to the remodelling of the whole of our ideas about the form and arrangement of the sidereal universe. Its scope could not be restricted to one district, but should be extended to every mixed group in the great round of the Milky Way. There has long been a practical certainty that their misty effect to the eye was not, in any sense, of geometrical production. The nearly exclusive occurrence within the galactic zone of gaseous nebulae, gaseous and temporary stars, sufficed indeed of itself to dispose of the Herschelian theory of a disc-shaped system, projected through the effect of perspective foreshortening into the aspect of a milky ring. The milky ring, it was evident, had a physical existence; real stellar condensations, and not simply optical crowding, could alone fitly be invoked to account for it. Its nebulous affinities, moreover, have, with the growth of the photographic method, become more and more accentuated; and if further inquiries should, in accordance with the indications of Dr. Wolf's negatives, demonstrate these nebulous affinities to be common to the brilliant emblazoning orbs of the Galaxy and the "star-dust" strewn around them, then the proof of clustering on the grandest scale will be complete. The view that the shimmering streams and patches of the Milky Way embrace both lucid stars and star-dust is not, indeed, now heard of for the first time; it was put forward many years ago by Mr. Proctor, and has of late been ably advocated by Mr. Ranyard. Its establishment would involve the dominant presence in galactic formations of relatively enormous suns—suns thousands of times more brilliant than the multitudinous bodies circling near them. But disparities of this magnitude cannot be deemed impossible, since they have, in particular cases, been fully proved to exist. The star  $\alpha$  in the Great Bear, for instance, has a small close companion, discovered by Mr. Burnham, and shown by his recent measures to be almost certainly revolving round it, so that the two must be at about equal distances from ourselves. Yet one is nearly four thousand times brighter than the other. As to the absolute magnitude of the stars—large or small—composing the Milky Way, we are still entirely ignorant. Nor can we learn anything on this point until we are in a position to form some satisfactory estimate of their remoteness. A further development of the methods for determining stellar distances is thus urgently needed, and would

constitute a step of the first importance towards the disclosure of some few of the many secrets of sidereal construction. With so sublime a prospect to stimulate inventiveness, it may be hoped that the step will soon be taken.

**Lunar Heat.**—Two papers on this subject have recently been published. One emanates from Ireland, the other from America. Dr. Boeddicker, Lord Rosse's astronomer, discusses, in the first, a series of observations on the varying heat of the moon during the total lunar eclipse of January 28, 1888, made by him at Parsons-town with the three-foot speculum of the Birr Castle Observatory. The second, by Mr. Frank W. Very, of the Alleghany Observatory, U.S.A., is an essay to which has been adjudged the prize offered by the Utrecht Society of Arts and Sciences for the determination of the changes with lunar phase of lunar heat. The observations it is based upon were executed with a Langley's bolometer—an instrument of unrivalled refinement for measuring radiant energy—and they include a short series for which the lunar eclipse of January 16, 1889, furnished the opportunity. It is satisfactory to find the results obtained by these able and careful workers in what may be called perfect accord, regard being had to the excessively delicate nature of the phenomena they studied. Both detected symptoms of a slight storage of heat by the moon. Our satellite, in other words, is a thermal radiator, as well as reflector. The heat rays poured upon its surface by the sun are not all instantly returned, like the shorter undulations constituting light. A sensible though small proportion are appropriated for a time, and serve to warm up the lunar peaks and circuses to a temperature high compared with the temperature of space, though possibly not exceeding that of freezing water. One sure proof of this slight retention of heat is the retardation of the heat-minimum during eclipses. Thermal do not disappear with the same promptitude as luminous radiations. After the moon has completely entered into the earth's shadow, it nevertheless continues to send out a minute portion of heat, evidently derived from previous accumulations. A rather conspicuous delay, however, in the recovery of heat-power after the full light had returned, ascertained by Dr. Boeddicker to have ensued upon the eclipses both of 1884 and of 1888, remains an unexplained and very curious anomaly. Mr. Frank Very's were the first experiments directed to the study of the distribution of heat, bit by bit, over the disc of the moon, and they brought out local variations, absorptive as well as reflective, which cannot be neglected in future attempts to deal as a whole with the problem of lunar thermal energy.

**Metallurgy at the British Association.**—At the late meeting of the British Association at Cardiff, the presidency of the chemical section was entrusted to Professor W. C. Roberts-Austen, who fittingly confined his opening address to that department of chemical science to which he has devoted his labours, and which he has himself enriched by discovery. The main purport of his address on Metallurgy was to urge the importance of connecting the more

practical art with the investigations of the sciences. To quote his words: "In no other art have the relations between theory and practice been so close and enduring. . . . In reviewing the history of metallurgy, especially in our islands, it would seem that the two classes of workers, the interpreters of nature and the practical men, have for centuries sat in joint committee, and by bringing theoretical speculation into close connection with hard industrial facts, have carried us nearer the essence of truth."

But he thinks the union may be made still closer. To this end, he urges a more extended teaching of the subject by specialists; an ordinary college course of chemistry does not, in his opinion, fit a man to be a practical metallurgist, so subtle and complex are the chemical actions and reactions involved in many of our modern metallic processes. To effect the necessary transformations, often requires the utmost skill and patience. To take the case of the preparations of silver from cuperiferous compounds, it may happen that operations, commenced at a temperature of some  $500^{\circ}$ , are completed at  $700^{\circ}$ , within a range of  $200^{\circ}$ . All may depend upon the judicious stir and delicate adjustment of temperature. To carry out such operations successfully requires an operator not only to possess a finesse of touch, and acuteness of colour perception so as to associate the tint of a streak with the stage of operations, but also scientific knowledge of a very high order, since he has to contend with the disturbing influences introduced by the presence of unexpected elements or untoward variations in temperature. The Professor maintains that if an ordinary observant, chemically trained student visited a silver extraction works, and possessed enough analytical skill to detect the chemical changes that occur, he would see many facts before him that his training had not enabled him to predict, and he would establish a series of reactions to the nature of which his chemical reading had hardly given him a clue.

The importance of these remarks will be realised if we apply them to such an important class of works as steel manufacture. A piece of brittle steel may find its way into the axle of a railway carriage, a vital portion of a viaduct, and the disaster following the collapse of either may be traced to unskilful operations in the preparation of the metal.

Professor Roberts-Austen also complains of the pooriness of the laboratories attached to many of our works. They are often "mere sheds placed, say, behind the boiler-house. When may we hope to rival the German chemical firm which has recently spent £19,000 upon its laboratories, in which research will be vigorously conducted?"

The Professor pointed out that in metallurgy chemical analysis should be pursued with a nicety not always to be found in its students. Sufficient importance is not given to the estimation of "traces," an analysis being considered to be satisfactory if the constituents found add up to 99.9, although a knowledge as to what elements represent the missing 0.1 may be more useful in affording

an explanation of the defects in a material than all the rest of the analysis. In practice, the addition of a trace of some foreign matter in some particular metal will induce in it remarkable allotropic changes. In the case of iron manufacture, elements whose atomic volumes are smaller than that of iron, delay during the cooling of a mass of iron from a red heat the change of the hard variety to the soft variety. On the other hand, elements whose atomic volumes are greater than that of iron tend to hasten the change of the hard variety to the soft variety.

The Professor adds that the fact that nickel-steel is now found so suitable for armour-plate, is an example of the influence of the atomic volume of an added element on the mechanical properties of iron. We are told that silicon and aluminium elements, very dissimilar in their properties, but having almost the same atomic volume, affect iron in the same way. The molecular condition of nickel-steel seems to be very remarkable. Dr. Hopkinson has shown that the density of steel containing 22 per cent. of nickel, undergoes remarkable changes when subjected to low temperatures. When cooled to  $-30^{\circ}$ , the density is reduced to no less than 2 per cent. Professor Roberts-Austen points out that such a property would have curious effects on a vessel built in a temperate climate of ordinary steel and clad with some 3000 tons of nickel-steel, if it were transferred to the Arctic regions. The shearing which would follow the expansion of the armour by the Arctic temperature would destroy the ship.

The alloying of metals would seem to open out a new and magnificent field of inquiry. The existence of many new metals have been discovered, but a use for them has yet to be found. To take the example quoted in Professor Roberts-Austen's address, vanadium and thallium are pretty widely distributed in nature, but we know little of the value of the action of any of these metals when alloyed with others which are in daily use.

A point upon which the Professor lays stress is measurement of very high temperatures. This is a subject in which he has himself done service to the science, as he has, after a course of investigation, produced an appliance for obtaining, in the form of curves, photographic records of the cooling of masses of metal. By the aid of such a pyrometer it is easy to tell "what thermal changes take place during the cooling of molten masses of alloys, and it is possible to compare the rate of cooling of a white-hot steel ingot of definite positions situated respectively near its surface and at its centre, and thus to solve a problem which has hitherto been considered to be beyond the range of ordinary experimental methods."

While Professor Roberts-Austen in his address said much to stimulate fresh scientific investigation, and to urge a vigorous training in our future metallurgists, he did not ignore the enormous progress that has been made of late years in the metallurgical art. Such progress, he asserts, can be principally traced to theory. He tells us that, only sixteen years ago, Sir Nathaniel Barnaby, then Director of Naval Construction, wrote: "Our distrust of steel is so great that the



material may be said to be altogether unused by private shipbuilders, and marine engineers appear to be equally afraid of it; the question we have to put to the steel-makers is, What are our prospects of obtaining a material which we can use without such delicate manipulation and so much fear and trembling?" It is scientific research that has changed all this, for, side by side with improvements in the quality of steel which is a result of the open-hearth process, elaborate experiments have proved what is the best mechanical and thermal treatment for the metal. In the year ending on June 23 last, no less than 401 ships, of three-quarters of a million gross tonnage, were being built of steel in the United Kingdom. Or, to take a very matter-of-fact sign of progress, the price of steel twenty-five years ago was £55 per ton. Now it is £5 per ton. This statement alone shows that both speculative and practical faculties have been well at work in the art of metallurgy, even if they have not yet reached the ideal fusion Professor Roberts-Austen is striving to bring about.

**The Faraday Centenary.**—The hundredth anniversary of the birth of Faraday was celebrated during the month of June at the Royal Institution in a twofold manner: firstly, by conferring honorary membership on several foreign savants, many of whom were present in person to receive the diploma of membership; secondly, by giving the public the opportunity of hearing two discourses on the achievements of the "master." The first of these was delivered in the theatre of the Institution by Lord Rayleigh, the present Professor of Natural Philosophy at the Royal Institution, and dealt chiefly with Faraday's physical researches. The second discourse, dealing with his chemical work, was entrusted to Professor Dewar.

To estimate the influence of the intellectual giant of whose simple life and vast achievements we have lately been reminded, would be a difficult task. His researches and teachings are reflected not only in that electrical industry of which we see the beginnings while we cannot predict the development, but also in much of the pure scientific investigation which is going on at the present time. To take one or two examples: the dynamo-electric machine is but the elaborate exaggeration of his famous laboratory manipulations of a bar magnet and a coil of wire by which he discovered magneto-electric induction. The electrical transformer now so widely used in our large electric installations, by which a powerful and dangerous current can be instantly converted into one that is mild and innocent, is the direct outcome of the old laboratory induction coil which was the embodiment of Faraday's great discovery, that an electric current in one circuit can induce another current in a neighbouring one. Very beautifully was this research illustrated in Lord Rayleigh's memorial lecture at the Royal Institution. An incandescent electric lamp, placed in a circuit in which there was no source of power provided, being actually lit by the current induced by a neighbouring circuit which was in connection with a source of electric power. The doctrine of the connection of the sciences so enforced in the teachings of Faraday, is at the root of all real progress in the

applications of electricity. It is vividly exemplified in such an instrument as the electric storage battery, wherein we store up chemical energy to be at will converted into electrical energy. To pass to his influence on scientific research now being conducted, the whole of the brilliant investigations of Dr. Hertz, which seem to prove the identity of light and electricity, and which have already been noticed in this REVIEW, may be said to have been foreshadowed in his remarkable experiments on the magnetisation of light. To him must be awarded the palm of having first connected forces seemingly so different as light and magnetism. Amongst the hopes of Faraday was the attainment of liquid oxygen. He never himself realised this expectation, but its production formed one of the chief features of Professor Dewar's lecture on the chemical work of Faraday, an appropriate illustration showing that his work is being continued by his successors in the same spot where so long he laboured and made his home. In this experiment the liquid oxygen was exhibited boiling at a temperature of about 200 degrees. This was accomplished by the combination of very low temperatures produced by ethylene and high pressure.

Lord Rayleigh pointed out in his lecture that, besides the greater and well-known discoveries of Faraday, there were many matters of minor interest mentioned in his works which have not obtained much general notice, but of decided value. Faraday drew attention to the fact that an antidote to suffocation in an atmosphere of smoke, was to give the lungs a preliminary preparation by a number of deep inspirations and expirations. By so doing, the blood is so aerated as to allow of holding the breath for a much longer period than would be possible without such a preparation. Doubtless many lives might be saved in cases of emergency by adopting the practice of Faraday's prescription. Not least of Faraday's achievements was his marvellous power of diffusing knowledge by means of his experimental lectures. In those eloquent discourses he loved to disclose the great truths of science in the ordinary surroundings of our daily life, and the impression he made was so lasting, even on the minds of non-scientific audiences, that it was a mark of individual power which alone would place him in the ranks of epoch-makers.

**Photography by the Electric Spark.**—Lord Rayleigh has lately shown that in the rapid duration of the electric spark we have a valuable method of photographing phenomena which pass so quickly as to elude ordinary observation. The magnesium flash light has for long been used as a means of obtaining so-called instantaneous photographs. But rapid as appears the magnesium flash, it subjects the plate to quite a long exposure compared to that obtained under the electric spark. This is made evident, as Lord Rayleigh has shown, by causing a magnesium flash light and electric spark in turn to illuminate a disc composed of white and black sectors, and which is revolved rapidly. The magnesium flash is not instantaneous enough to resolve the grey tint of the revolving disc

into its components, but the electric spark causes the white sectors to be apparently stationary.

The manner in which photographs can be taken by the electric spark is very simple. The sparking arrangement is placed inside an ordinary projection lantern. The electric sparks are condensed by the lantern condenser on to the lens of the photographic camera. The object to be photographed is then placed in front of the lantern condenser, and the plate is exposed to the spark when it passes. One of the rapid actions which Lord Rayleigh has successfully registered is the breaking of the film of a soap-bubble. Several difficulties had to be overcome before this result was obtained. It is not easy to rupture the film of a soap-bubble neatly. If a shot is allowed to fall on a soap-bubble, it will pass through the bubble without making a hole in the film. Lord Rayleigh, however, moistened the shot with alcohol, and found that such a modification of the experiment secured the desired rupture.

In the arrangements for photographing the action, it was necessary to ensure that the spark should take place simultaneously with the breaking of the film. This operation was accomplished by two falling balls, one to break the film, the other to determine the spark. These were held by springs, which were released by the action of electro-magnets. The ball which determines the spark is allowed to fall between two fixed ones, submitted to certain electric pressures, and in connection with the sparking arrangement in the lantern. The moment the falling ball is between the two fixed ones, the spark in the lantern takes place. The following fact shows how extraordinarily rapid the breaking of the film is. Lord Rayleigh found that the whole difference of being too early and too late was represented by a displacement of the falling ball through less than a diameter—viz.,  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch. The drop given was a foot. The speed of the ball would be then about 100 inches per second; therefore the whole difference of being too soon and too late is represented by  $\frac{1}{300}$  second. Lord Rayleigh concludes from his experiments that the velocity of the rupture of a film is about sixteen yards per second.

**Photography in Colours.**—There seems to be some difference of opinion amongst the members of the Photographic Society as to whether the experiments lately carried on at Paris by M. Lippman are likely to lead to a process for fixing objects in their natural colours upon the photographic plate. At any rate, M. Lippman claims to have produced the photograph of the prismatic spectrum. The colours in his photographs seem to be better distinguished when viewed by transmitted than by reflected light. The specimen exhibited at a late meeting of the Photographic Society was not one of M. Lippman's best examples—it was, in fact, taken by one of his assistants—and so indistinct were the colours in it that no one uninform would have associated them with the colours of the spectrum. The right way to view M. Lippman's work appears to be when the image is cast on a screen by means of an optical projection lantern.

An eye-witness states, in the *Journal of the Photographic Society*, that when M. Lippman thus exhibited a specimen at a recent soirée in Paris, the spectrum was nearly perfect, being about two feet long and four inches broad. All the colours, excepting the yellow, were satisfactory, though not brilliant. Some of the best negatives that Professor Lippman has taken extend beyond the blue, right into the indigo and violet; in fact, it is stated that some of the extreme violet rays which the human eye is incapable of appreciating are recorded by the more sensitive photographic plate. The yellow and orange, however, fail especially to stand out like the other colours. The idea of obtaining the photographic image of the spectrum is not new. About 1838 Becquerel made experiments on the spectrum colours. He dipped a silver plate in chloride of copper, and connected it with the positive end of a battery. Then the plate was heated, and exposed to the spectrum. Some result was certainly obtained. M. Lippman states that the results obtained by his method are due to the interference of light waves. He covers the surface of a glass plate with a coating of iodide of silver. The plate is placed on the surface of a mercury bath arranged in a vertical camera. The mercury bath acts as a mirror. The rays of light falling on the surface of the metal are reflected back, and interfere with the direct rays. This produces intermittence of light and darkness, according to the well-known laws of the interference of wave-motion. These interferences are registered upon the photographic film in its thickness, and give rise to numerous films after development, of which some are black, and others corresponding to the obscurations are white. According to the action of the rays of different colours the eye perceives the colour answering to each number of waves that make it up. At the discussion at the Photographic Society it was suggested that the results obtained were not owing to any specific action of colour, but that since M. Lippman exposed his plates to the influence of a powerful arc light for a considerable time, he so roasted the film that iridescent colours were produced in every variety. According to this opinion, M. Lippman's process would be nothing more than a trick of photography.

With regard to the idea of obtaining photographs in natural colours, some experiments were recently tried by Mr. Warnecke that are worthy of note. He constructed a coloured screen with strips of coloured glass, red, orange, dark and light green, yellow, blue, and violet. He caused light to pass through this screen and fall on albumenised paper, the albumenised side being in contact with a mercury trough. After exposure a very strong and distinct image was obtained, visible not only on both sides of the paper by reflected light, but still more distinctly by transmitted light, the colours being the same as on the screen. Wishing to ascertain whether the colours are due to the interference of light, the experiment was repeated without the mercury reflecting surface, with the same result. The image lost its colours after being fixed in hyposulphite of soda. To test what part duration of exposure played albumenised

paper was exposed behind a sensitometer plate. Very extensive gradations were obtained, but no trace of colour.

### BRITISH ASSOCIATION MEETING, 1891.

The British Association, which met at Cardiff in August of this year, can hardly be said to have had a successful meeting. The weather was wretched, the attendance below the average, and Swansea held the national Eisteddfod during the same week. The address of the President, Dr. Huggins, was very fine. The extreme modesty of the worthy doctor, who referred most warmly to everybody's labours except his own, was not the least charm. It was a treat, however, to hear from the great pioneer of spectroscopy in this country, a full and authoritative account of the history of the infant science. The general student was anxious to know the later progress of the science and the problems immediately under investigation. On these points Dr. Huggins' address was most instructive. In the head of comets, Dr. Huggins has shown the presence of carbon, a most important point: and he considers the tail is caused by the disruptive electric discharges due to increased solar heat. The solar corona may also be a phenomenon similar to the formation of tails of comets—viz., that it consists mainly of matter discharged by electric forces from the sun. Many of these particles return to the sun, those which form the rays and streamers do not return. The study of the spectra of the fixed stars has also brought out some startling theories. Stars may be divided into three groups: the white stars; those resembling the sun in their spectrum; the orange and red stars. In Dr. Huggins' opinion, the white stars, which are most numerous, represent the early adult stage of stellar life, the solar condition that of maturity or commencing age, while in the orange and red stars we see the setting in and advance of old age. But perhaps the most striking part of the address was that which referred to the remarkable discoveries made in the advance and recession of the stars in our line of sight. It has hitherto been considered a problem beyond the scope of our instruments to determine the motion of the fixed stars. The spectroscope, however, aided by photography, has achieved the marvellous task of recording the motion of the stars with the accuracy, in the case of a large number of them, of about an English mile per second. For the nebula of Orion a motion of recession of about ten miles a second, and the motion of about fifty stars, have been measured. The remarkable spectrum of the Aurora Borealis has up to this refused to give up its secret.

The address was listened to by Lord Bute, in his mayoral robes of office, and nothing could be happier or more delicate than the manner in which he proposed the vote of thanks to Dr. Huggins.

**Geological Section.**—Professor F. Brown's address was disappointing. It might have been an ancient manuscript drawn from its pigeon-holes on the South Wales coal-field. Sir Archibald Geikie gave some interesting accounts of recent discoveries among the

ancient rocks of Ross-shire. Professor Boyd Dawkins gave a glowing picture of the results to be expected from the recent discovery of coal in Kent. He pictured the days when South Wales would be a melancholy ruin, and its industrial supremacy transferred to the neighbourhood of Shakespeare's Cliff. The section, however, refused to listen to the voice of the charmer, and a certain amount of warmth was imported into the discussion.

**Physical Section.**—The most original, and to Catholics the most interesting, address was that of Professor Lodge in the Physical Section. It was quite a new departure. Discarding the time-honoured form of a president's address, he boldly advocated, first, a national laboratory; and, second, a serious physical investigation of "thought transference." The first is all very well; but what a storm his second proposal will raise. It is clear that Professor Lodge is far from being a materialist. The facts of life are too strong for materialism. He wants to understand the connection between mind and matter, the border-land between physics and psychology; he pleads for a physical investigation of telepathy, or "thought transference." To him it is a matter of reproach that these problems are treated by his *confrères* with scorn and ridicule. He is little concerned with the ultimate issue of the inquiry, but he feels strongly that science should not wrap itself in a narrow dogmatism and refuse investigation into well-ascertained facts. The theory of the conservation of energy, accepted nowadays as the very foundation of all science, is not altogether satisfactory. It does not account for the phenomenon of life. Life is not energy, and the death of an animal affects the amount of energy not a whit; yet a live animal exerts a control over energy which a dead one cannot.

On the nature of time the Professor threw out some original suggestions. Time may be only a relative mode of regarding things, we progress through and pass by phenomena, and we consider that events necessarily happened in this order and at this precise rate. But this mode of regarding events may be incorrect. They may in some sense be existent always, both in the past and in the future, and it may be we who are arriving and passing through already existing phenomena. If we spent our lives in a railway train and were unconscious of our motion, we should probably consider the landscapes outside of us as having a very brief existence, and be unable to conceive their co-existence.

But the whole paper is full of brilliant suggestions and glimpses of this unknown region, and will well bear perusal.

**Geographical Section.**—The "lion" of the Cardiff meeting was no doubt Mrs. Sheldon, the plucky traveller who penetrated to the foot of Kilimanjaro with no other escort than that of the savages whom she hired on her journey. It was rather painful to see from her nervousness what trials and anxieties were incidental to such a journey. It was essentially a ladies' paper, pleasant and full of gossip. She dealt entirely with the habits of the natives through whose



districts she passed. She found nothing but kindness and welcome wherever she went. Kings and chiefs vied with each other in their pressing invitations to visit them. With the exception of her escort, which was often unruly and rebellious, she met with nothing but consideration and homage. When the natives first came out to meet her, they were in the usual naked state; but as soon as it was known that the white lady preferred to see them clothed, her wishes afterwards were implicitly obeyed. Of the home life of the women and children she was able to learn much, but the scientific value of her paper was very little.

Miss E. M. Clerke read a very interesting paper on the Aborigines of Western Australia. She showed from the success of Bishop Salvado and his Benedictine monks that the Australian is by no means the hopeless savage that he is usually described.

**Economic Section.**—This section is increasing in importance each succeeding year. Great things were therefore expected from the Cardiff meeting, but the results are very disappointing. Dr. Cunningham's address, though bristling with clever points, failed to obtain much support for his main contention, that nations, in their industrial life, are leaving the narrow bounds of their own countries and becoming cosmopolitan in their ideas. This is a somewhat startling conclusion, in the face of the McKinley tariff, and the increased protective barriers against the imports of other States raised by all the great nations. The vexed question of the day, of the relations between capital and labour, naturally came in for a good deal of discussion. But no two speakers could agree as to the proposed remedy; the most widely divergent opinions were put forward. The whole discussion left a painful impression that masters and men are hopelessly groping through the darkness, and that political economy is at present quite unable to solve the problem. The most interesting paper was that of Mr. Tylor, in which he gave an account of the manner in which the German Government have solved the question of Compulsory Insurance for Workmen. The scheme in many of its details would be quite inapplicable to our country; still it was very valuable in showing how this very complicated question can be worked out into pounds, shillings, and pence.

There is a general feeling abroad that the British Association is degenerating. It is beginning to fail in securing the great object for which it was established. The loafers and holiday-makers are driving away the real men of science. There is no real attention to the papers. Both reader and student are annoyed beyond measure at the number of casual listeners that drop in at all parts of the paper, and walk out after hearing a few pages. They evidently come not to hear, but to gratify an idle curiosity. On the other hand, the scientific authors are not a little to blame. The bulk of the papers treat of such abstruse and out-of-the-way regions of their subject that discussion is quite impossible. Now, if this discussion and exchange of views is practically to be pushed on one side, the

British Association will quickly lose its *raison d'être*. The Council should seriously take into consideration the loud complaints heard at the Cardiff meeting. The reform should take the direction of fewer and more carefully chosen papers, and every encouragement be given to discussion and criticism. The holiday-makers cannot be dispensed with, as they furnish so large an amount of the sinews of war; but they might well be kept in order by the provision each day of one or two popular lectures, which would not fail to relieve the honest worker of their inconvenient presence in the various sections.

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## Notes of Travel and Exploration.

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**Progress of Mashonaland.**—A letter from Fort Salisbury, in the *Times* of June 20, describes the rapid advance of this new English settlement. Prospectors have already been at work scouring the country and marking out claims for future development. Five distinct gold fields have been opened, to each of which a claim inspector and mining commissioner have been appointed, and the results of working, with as yet but very imperfect appliances, are said to justify the most sanguine anticipations. Alluvial gold has also been found in considerable quantities, though not sufficiently great to draw the prospectors from the reefs, easily traced by the old workings. A large part of the country remains still unexplored, as a southern limit had been put to prospecting, for fear of giving umbrage to the Matebeles. The relations of the settlers with the latter continue most friendly, and their ruler, Lobengula, has loyally carried out his engagements. He not only allows herds of cattle to be driven from his kraal into Mashonaland, but has taken the step of becoming a claim-holder under the laws of the Company, and is about to have his property developed. Labour, it is hoped, may, in course of time, also be attracted from his dominions. The Mashonas have, from the beginning, shown themselves amicably disposed, bringing in supplies, and displaying eagerness to be employed as servants and builders, or on the mines. The road southward has been improved, and others are in contemplation, and bridges and ferries are being provided for the passage of the streams. A town site was about to be laid out, when a great scramble was anticipated on the part of those anxious to secure "stands," as the areas into which town blocks are divided are called in that part of the world. There had been a good deal of fever and sickness generally, but it was hoped that with improved dwellings, clothing, and food, it would

diminish, if not disappear. Indeed, when we read of native porridge and pumpkin as the staple fare, its prevalence becomes easily intelligible.

**Lions in Mashonaland.**—The facilities for lion hunting in Mashonaland, while no doubt adding to its attractiveness for the more adventurous pioneers, will scarcely recommend it to the peaceful agriculturist. A letter, published in the *Times* of August 10, describes as follows the experiences of the writer and his companions :

One of our fellows spent a very pleasant Christmas evening. He was taking the mails from up country down to the next post station. About two or three miles after he had left our camp two lions attacked the horses. He was riding one and leading another with the mails strapped on it in sacks. One lion sprang on to the back of the horse he was riding, and he managed to swing himself off into a tree. The lions left the horses and came and walked about under the tree where he was, and remained there until one of our waggons, which had been left behind broken down, came along the road and frightened them away. He was up the tree seven hours; the horse he was riding went straight to the next post station dreadfully torn, and the one with the mails was brought in there by some natives three days afterwards, but still had the mails on it all right. We marched on next morning at sunrise, and all the population crowded the hilltops to see us; the children ran along the face of the hills alongside the road on paths where you would think a goat would scarcely find a foothold, and with a perpendicular fall of 200ft. or more below them; they ran just as you see children run down a street at home, the big ones first, all crowding and jostling one another, then smaller ones, and five or six fat little black things, that could scarcely walk, at the end, howling like mad at being left behind. The country we were now travelling through was hilly, still the same dome-topped hills thickly wooded and very thickly populated. The natives were very friendly, and we got a good deal of food from them, chiefly rice, and various kinds of nuts and beans, which were very welcome. On the 28th we were unable to march all day on account of the rain, but as it came out a brilliant moonlight night about ten, we marched at midnight. During the night a lion and lioness attacked one of the donkey carts, killed one donkey, and broke the leg of another. I was with a party of ten a short distance behind, and hearing the noise we ran up, and found one of our fellows had just killed the lioness. She was a splendid animal, and measured 9ft. 4in. from nose to the tip of her tail, and stood 38in. at the shoulder. Out of the numbers we saw on the road—for not a night passed without their disturbing us, and once or twice they came up to the camp in broad daylight—this was the only one we killed, though several were wounded.

**The Gazaland Envoys.**—The chief of the envoys of Gungunhama, King of Gazaland, who rejoices in the name of Huluhulu Umteto, is evidently a man of very superior natural intelligence. In his own country, whither he has now returned, he is an important personage, being at once father-in-law and brother-in-law to the king, and holding the second position, among the advisers of that monarch, next after the official who may be described in European parlance, as the Prime Minister of his irremovable Cabinet. Among the English sights followed by him with the keenest interest, was a sham fight at Aldershot, and on his return to London he showed his comprehension of the whole scheme of attack and defence by his in-

telligent criticism on the handling of one force, and appreciative praise of that of the other, pointing out to his auditors how the action taken must inevitably lead to certain results. On the publication next day of Sir Evelyn Wood's report, it was found to be practically identical with the views expressed by the African soldier, who had it translated to him, and was much pleased to find his opinion confirmed by an English general celebrated in the annals of his native continent. The defeat of the warlike Zulus is, according to Huluhulu, the foundation of English prestige in South Africa, and of this the Portuguese were so well aware, that they spread the report that they and not the English were the victors at Ulundi. The overthrow of Cetywayo had long puzzled the chiefs of Gazaland, as they knew that his troops were superior to any Portuguese forces they had seen. The sight of the cavalry manoeuvres at Aldershot solved the riddle to Huluhulu, as the Zulus never had a force which could compete with the English cavalry. The envoy was very anxious to inform himself as to the relative strength of European armies, particularly of those of England and Portugal, as to which it was easy to assure him that the superiority lay with this country. To the inquiry as to what regiment he himself belonged to, he replied "Many regiments belong to me; I do not belong to any regiment." The second envoy, Umfeti, a younger man, occupies a less exalted position, and belongs to the regiment of the "White Birds." The army of Gazaland consists of eight divisions of two regiments each, amounting in all to about 10,000 men, but, like Cetywayo's, it has no cavalry. Gungunhama claims sovereignty from Delagoa Bay to the Zambesi, and from the coast to the border of Mashonaland, but though a portion of his territory, including the royal kraal, falls within the sphere of British influence, the remainder is all within the region assigned to Portugal. The mission of the envoys is, they declare, but a continuance by Gungunhama of the policy pursued by his father, which was to enter into alliance with the strongest white Power in Africa. He would be willing to grant mining concessions, and to accept a British Resident as well as a white force in his country, to exercise all administrative authority in matters affecting the rights of white settlers.—(*Manchester Guardian*.)

**The Indunas in Manchester.**—The Gazaland envoys were present at a meeting of the Manchester Geographical Society, where Huluhulu delivered an address in his own language, translated as follows by the interpreter, Mr. Dennis Doyle :

The object of this mission is to lay the grievances of King Gungunhama at the feet of the Queen, and to interest the English people in this country in the fortunes of Gazaland. We have a beautiful country—a large country—fitted for white men to settle in, and teeming with richness in the ground. There is much gold. The Portuguese have been annoying the King to such an extent that he thought it advisable the English people should know that he did not wish to quarrel with the white people, and the King hopes that by the interference of England such a thing may be prevented. The Portuguese by their action have incited the King's people to rebellion, and it has been

necessary for the King on more than one occasion to punish his chiefs. The names of the two chiefs specially incited to rebel were Hunyana and Spelenyana. King Gungunhama heard from outside sources that the Portuguese claimed sovereignty over his country. It is not true that he or his father or grandfather, or any one authorised by them, had ever paid tribute to the Portuguese. On the contrary, since the Portuguese had entered the country, they had paid tribute to him as King of Gazaland, and up to the present had acknowledged him as supreme ruler. The Portuguese were, therefore, not speaking the truth when they described him as a chief tributary. The King does not want to have to fight the Portuguese. If he has to fight them he wants the English to know that he, at any rate, is not to blame in commencing the quarrel. He has every desire that portions of his country should be placed at the disposal of the white people who come into the place for farming, and that they should make roads and bridges, send missionaries and schoolmasters to them, and generally help the King to educate his people as much as possible. He wants the English people to assist him in suppressing the drink traffic, which is demoralising a large portion of his nation, and which has its entrance through Portuguese ports. The King says that his people are prepared to accept the English protection, and he is prepared to receive at his court a resident from the Queen who shall live with him, carry his words to the Queen, and take the Queen's words to Gungunhama. This white resident shall settle all disputes between whites in the country, and should not interfere with Gungunhama's black races. The King is very anxious that white men should settle in his country and dig for gold, of which he knows there is much. In return the white man will pay the King's men for digging for him. This will enable them to purchase blankets and other white men's clothing, which they are so much in need of. The father and grandfather and great grandfather of Gungunhama were Kings of Gazaland, and his is a royal house.

He concluded by acknowledging the graciousness of his reception by the Queen, and the courtesy he had been shown by Englishmen in general, and declared that his instructions were, that he was to be the mouth and ears of the King, and to speak the words that he knew were in the heart of the King. His speech, which was delivered with great fluency and earnestness, was warmly applauded.

**Traffic on the Great Lakes of America.**—The figures of the trade on the great inland seas of North America are given in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for December 1890. The quantity of goods carried by the Detroit River during the 234 days it had been open to traffic the previous year, exceeded by 10,000,000 tons the entries and clearances of all sea-ports of the United States, and by 3,000,000 the combined foreign and coasting trade of the ports of London and Liverpool, while the tonnage passed through the Sault Ste. Marie in 1889, surpassed that borne by the Suez Canal, though the latter is open all the year round.

**Progress in Algeria.**—Sir Lambert Playfair concludes his last report on Algeria with a summary of its recent progress. During the last twenty-five years the European population has risen from 218,000 to 425,000; the Treasury receipts from £680,000 to £1,600,000; the vine cultivation from 11,000 hectares, producing 100,000 hectolitres of wine, to 106,000 hectares and some 3,000,000 hectolitres of wine, of which nearly two-thirds are exported to France. The general commerce, which in 1886 aggregated £8,880,000, has

reached £20,040,000. The exports, which have increased 100,000,000*f.* in ten years, have now, for the first time since the conquest, exceeded the imports. The Governor-General, in his opening address to the last meeting of the *Conseil Supérieur du Gouvernement*, remarked :

If Algeria already occupies so fine a position, in spite of only one-tenth of its surface being turned to account, what may we not expect from her when the immense extent of land still uncleared is brought under cultivation ; when our 2,500,000 hectares of forest shall be in full production ; when the region of the steppes shall be rendered capable of sustaining 30,000,000 or 40,000,000 of sheep ; and, finally, when the natives, realising the changed conditions caused by universal competition, shall modify their traditional system of agriculture and improve their breed of cattle ? Then France, which purchases each year from abroad 2,000,000,000*f.* (£80,000,000) of raw material, and more than 1,000,000,000*f.* (£40,000,000) of food supplies, may find in Algeria the wine now furnished by Spain and Italy ; the sheep sent from Germany and Hungary ; the wool imported from Australia ; the hides of South America ; the wheat and Indian corn received from the United States ; and many other substances which can be produced here in abundance.—(*Times*, July 17, 1891.)

**A Commercial Journey Across Persia.**—A report has been laid before Parliament, from General Gordon, Oriental Secretary of the British Legation at Teheran, describing a journey from that city to the Persian Gulf, by way of Sultanabad, Burujird, Khoremad, Dizful, and Ahwaz. Owing partly to difficulties raised by the farmers of the local taxes, and partly to the insecurity of the road through Luristan, merchants have not yet become accustomed to the use of the Karûn route for merchandise, and prefer to send it to the coast by way of Baghdad. Evidences of the existence of petroleum were seen between Shuster and Ahwaz, and an investigation is being made into the resources of the district in this respect. The opening of the Karûn has already had a marked effect on the welfare of the Arab population, and as labour is better paid, many families have been enabled by the savings of a year to buy a pair of donkeys, a plough, and seed-corn, so as to cultivate the Government land on their own account, without having to borrow at ruinous interest. The sheikhs, who formerly had full control of the labour market, giving as wages little more than simple food, now find many of the poor, who were formerly in a state of abject dependence on them, started in life as small farmers on their own account. The wheat trade on the Karûn is also increasing, and rice, oil-seed, cotton and wool, are likely to find their way to the sea by its channel. Hitherto, the Arab traders have carried such products down to Bassorah, thereby incurring a double export duty, Persian and Turkish, amounting to 13 per cent., while with the present route they escape the latter. Corresponding to the growth of trade in the Karûn Valley, and the improvement in the condition of its inhabitants, there is an increasing importation of English and Indian cotton goods and of French sugar, preferred for its low price.

**Agriculture in the Karûn Valley.**—The agricultural resources of the Karûn Valley are, General Gordon thinks, likely to be deve-



loped by the aid of foreign capital. Negotiations were on foot for long leases of land on the banks of the river, for the cultivation of sugar-cane, cereals, cotton, and the date-palm, but the difficulty was that while the applicants want a lease of sixty years, the authorities refuse to give a longer term than twenty; but he thinks that concessions will be granted to Persian subjects, and then sold to the present applicants. The capability of the land on the Lower Karûn for date culture is so great that it is sure to attract planters, and both the production and the demand increase steadily year by year. Those exported from Bassorah last year amounted to 60,000 tons, and this quantity might be indefinitely increased. An acre of ground holds 100 trees, which begin to bear in five years, and are in full productiveness in seven. Each will then, in a fairly good season, yield a profit of about three rupees, or some £20 per acre, and the ground while the trees are growing, yields a crop of wheat, clover, or grass, and later affords pasture. Native growers profess to be able, in these palm districts, to distinguish by some difference or peculiarity of leaf, stone, or stem, 160 varieties of dates. To all variations in the conditions of soil, water, and climate, the Arab cultivators pay close attention, in order to reap full advantage from them. At various places in the northern part of the route, the liquorice plant was also seen to flourish abundantly, but Persian liquorice, handicapped with the heavy freight to the coast, cannot yet compete with that grown in Asia Minor. At the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, however, the root is collected, and sent by water to Bassorah, and thence to Marseilles. The report shows that, on the whole, the opening to trade of the Karûn River, though as yet in the northern districts partly nullified by bad roads and difficulties of taxation, has, in the region immediately around the river, been productive of the greatest advantage, and seems likely, with the progress of time, to be increasingly beneficial.—(*The Times*, July 16, 1891).

**The Khojak Tunnel.**—The completion of the Khojak Tunnel, bringing the Quetta Railway to debouch on the plain of Kandahar, marks another stage in the strategic organisation of the North-Western frontier of India. It continues the line from Killa Abdulla to sixty miles beyond Quetta, piercing the Khwaja Amran range, and finally establishing a temporary terminus on the Chaman plain. The entire work, of which the first sod was turned in December 1887, cost 152 lacs of rupees, the original estimate having been exceeded by twelve lacs in consequence of the subsequent authorisation of the construction of an additional seven miles on the Chaman side, and the tunnel having also cost nine lacs more than the calculated outlay. Some of this increase was due to the arbitrary action of the North-Western Railway in raising the rates for the transport of fuel required for working the boring machines after the line had been begun; and extra arching, due to the loose nature of the strata within the mountain, in contradiction to external indications, was another extra item. Then, when the tunnel was within 100

yards of completion, a vertical stratum of clay charged with water was met, from which poured a torrent of water and mud at the rate of several hundred gallons a minute, retarding the work by six months. The cost per yard, nevertheless, was less than that of any of the larger Alpine tunnels, such as the Mont Cenis, St. Gothard, or Arlberg, though they had the advantage of unlimited water power. The rock-drilling machinery used was Schram's, and rope inclines over the mountain, used to transport material from one side of the range to the other, were a feature of the work. They ran up the hillsides at a gradient of one in two and a half, and carried a total of three quarters of a million tons of material. The tunnel, the longest in Asia, is about two and a half miles long. The severity of the winter of 1890-1, when  $24^{\circ}$  of frost was registered at night, and 40 inches of rain fell in four months, most of it in the form of snow, caused great mortality among the coolies, of whom 1000 perished out of 4000 employed during that winter.—(*Globe*, Aug. 8.)

**Locusts in the Punjab.**—The plague of locusts, so universal this year, has extended its ravages to the north-western provinces of India and the Punjab.

In vain do the civil servants [writes a correspondent of the *Globe* from Abbottabad] do their best to rid us of this terrible plague which has attacked the whole of the North Punjab this year. In some towns these creatures have come in such overwhelming numbers that dogs and horses refuse to face the living flood crawling in the streets, and we hear of their devouring the entire contents of cloth merchants' shops, having exhausted all other food in the neighbourhood. The trains here are sometimes delayed six hours or more on the line, the locusts having gathered in such masses on the track that the wheels refuse to bite. In Rawul Pindi the troops have lately been turned out to battle with the invaders by driving them into trenches and then burying them; but a few million so killed make no visible difference. During the time that the young locusts are crawling great endeavours are made to stop their march, and many ways have been tried of destroying the insects during the eight weeks before they take wing; the natives, however, are so apathetic in the matter that the poor local commissioner has a bad time, and finds his hands full when locusts appear. The villagers are persuaded occasionally to go out in large parties and chase the creatures off their own particular crops with the aid of a great deal of beating of tomtoms, accompanied by ceaseless jabbering, but with little result, except to secure a few sacks full of the enemy, for which they are paid a reward in the bazaars.

As each locust lays 300 eggs it is almost hopeless to keep down their numbers, and the search for the eggs is often fruitless. The insects are in some stages of a shrimp colour, in others bright yellow, and occasionally blackish. In addition to the injury they inflict on crops they poison the water by crawling into the wells, and so creating danger of epidemic illness.

**Coal Mines of Washington Territory.**—The last report of the British Vice-Consul at Port Townsend in the new State of Washington, on the Pacific coast of the United States, describes the development of the coal industry of the State during the past year as the largest ever known, both in the opening of new mines and in the increased activity of the working of the old. The principal

coalfields lie between the Cascade and Coast Ranges, those most extensively worked hitherto and affording the present supply being on the western slope of the former chain. The qualities found include lignite and the bituminous and semi-bituminous varieties adapted for cooking and domestic uses as well as for the production of gas and steam. Some specimens of a very fine description of anthracite coal have also been found in the mountains of Yaquina County. The most extensive mines are in the neighbourhood of Puget's Sound, in King, Pierce, and Thurston Counties; those of the two former districts having each produced during the year more than 400,000 tons each. The coalfields are considered practically inexhaustible, but more railways, cheaper ocean transport, improved machinery, and increased capital are required for their development. Labour is well paid, and has been regular and uninterrupted by disputes with employers. The total production of the State for 1889 was 911,527 tons, and for 1890 1,349,773 tons, an increase of 438,246 tons. Prices were steady, the minimum being 8s. 3d. per ton for screenings, while 18s. 9d. was paid for steam coal in large quantities; and the retail price was as high as £1 4s. 9d., the average being about 13s. 9d. per ton all round. Coal is shipped principally under steam and sail to Oregon and California; but there is also a considerable consumption by steamships and tugboats plying on Puget Sound, as well as for domestic purposes. Iron ore is found in large quantities in almost every part of the State, the qualities being hematite, limonite, magnetic, and bog ore.

**Culture of Sisal Fibre in the Bahamas.**—A sudden impulse has been given to commerce and prosperity in the Bahamas by the recognition of the marketable value of sisal fibre. The aloe-like shrub, which grew everywhere on the rocky soil of the islands, was the plague of agriculture, as it was impossible to eradicate it, its long stiff leaves appearing through every other crop, and monopolising all the nourishment to be extracted from the lime soil of the plantations. The present Governor, Sir Ambrose Shea, discovered in this troublesome weed a valuable commercial product, the fibre of which was recognised by experts from Newfoundland as possessing qualities equal to those of the best rope fibres. Capital was attracted to the new industry by a bounty of £4 10s. per ton exported, and waste lands, previously regarded as worthless, were taken up for the growth of sisal at an advance from the former price of 5s. to four dollars an acre. As an encouragement to investors, the area of Government grants was limited to 100,000 acres for the first ten years, and the last acre available under this restriction has now been taken up, though it is only a year and a half since the industry was set on foot. The allotments have been carefully distributed so as to avoid any disturbance of the labour market, and the largest plantations are, with this view, situated in islands by themselves.

It has been found [says the *Times* of July 20 in its article on the colonies] that an acre of land will produce a yearly crop of about half a ton of fibre. The sisal plants last from twelve to fifteen years. They are planted in rows

with young ones coming up between them, so that the crop is practically self-renewing, while the soil is inexhaustible. The preparation for the market consists simply in crushing the leaves through rollers and washing away the juicy matter which is thus reduced to pulp. Very little labour is required, and while the present price of the fibre ranges up to £34 a ton, the cost of production and delivery averages about £12. The export trade of the Bahamas in the year 1889 was slight—over £130,000. Already it has felt the influence of the fibre industry, and there is a confident anticipation that before the ten years which limit the Government grant have expired the figure of the export trade will have risen to a million and a half.

**Citron Culture in Corsica.**—A consular report gives details of the culture of the citron, which is one of the most considerable industries of Corsica. A sheltered valley, not more than 200 to 300 feet above the sea, is generally chosen for the site of a garden, and as a supply of water is indispensable, it is generally provided by damming up a stream and constructing a reservoir proportional to the area under cultivation. This is usually of limited extent, the garden sometimes containing only a few trees, and occupying a space of from twelve to sixteen superficial acres. A single tree, when mature, sometimes produces a return of £10 to £12 per annum; but this sum represents a large expenditure of labour in terracing up the soil, making tanks, water conduits, and wells, as well as topping these with a fence of brushwood, to screen the trees in winter. The treatment to which the fruit is subjected in preparing it for the market consists of steeping it in casks of brine, composed of sea-water with an admixture of salt, and perhaps other saline chemicals, according to recipes differing with each individual grower, and kept from general knowledge as a trade secret. All that is essential for the pickling process, however, is the addition of salt to sea-water, in proportions varying according to the size and condition of the fruit. The latter is, for ordinary qualities, cut in half, to admit of the brine penetrating the inner rind, but the finer specimens of fruit, weighing from 2lb. to 3lb., are frequently preserved whole, forming a choice fruit, much prized by Orientals, and differing as much from the ordinary candied citron sold in England as the choicest vintages do from *vin ordinaire*. Leghorn is the chief seat of the citron candying industry, as Italy enjoys an advantage over Corsica in the drawback on the sugar used in the process. The "cedrat," or citron tree, is liable to a variety of diseases, of which "white-root," a fungoid growth which attacks the cortical tissues and ultimately destroys the plant, is the most formidable.

**The Oil Rivers Protectorate.**—The Oil Rivers territory, constituted in 1884 a British Protectorate, is now administered by Major Macdonald as Commissioner, a somewhat anomalous form of government, which it is hoped may be only a transition stage preliminary to its being taken over as a Crown colony. Separated from the colony of Lagos on the north by the Benin River, the line dividing it from the German territory of the Cameroons remains yet to be ascertained, as the unexplored Rio del Rey, rashly assumed as the boundary, proves to be no river at all, and non-existent for pur-

poses of demarcation. There is also some vagueness of outline at the point where the Protectorate meets the sphere of the Royal Niger Company, and the work of delimitation will also have to be completed here. Its coast line of 350 miles includes the ramifying outlets of the Delta of the Niger and the associated systems of the Bonny and Old Calabar Rivers, forming a network of connected waterways, glassy as canals, and overarched by the interlacing boughs of mangrove swamp-forest. Hulks, anchored in the rivers, form in many cases the factories and residences of the English merchants, the system of house-boats having prevailed here long before its adoption on the Thames. At no distant time, health resorts will, no doubt, be established on the mountains of the interior, 3000 to 5000 feet high. It is only since the declaration of the Protectorate that direct trade with the interior has been possible, as the powerful tribes of the sea-board, the former monopolists of the slave trade, continued to hold the outlets of trade, and were jealously resentful of all attempts to oust them from their lucrative position as middlemen, taking toll of every form of traffic. Under an arrangement come to with the Chief of Opobo, these restrictions have been removed, and a rapid development of commercial relations has taken place. The principal British firms are now organised as a limited company, trading under the name of the African Association, with a capital of £2,000,000, and power to increase to £5,000,000.

**Trade of the Protectorate.**—The value of imports into the Oil Rivers, estimated for the three years ending in 1889 at £730,000 per annum, has probably had a large subsequent increase, as prices have risen, while the volume of trade has augmented as well. The value of their exports for 1890 was estimated at over £1,300,000, after adding freight and charges. Palm oil is the staple, and the number of tons imported by the United Kingdom had grown from 200 in 1808, 13,850 in 1836, and 20,732 in 1844, to 43,696 tons in 1890. Marseilles, Havre, and Antwerp take 8000 to 10,000 tons in addition; but the whole of these quantities does not come from the Oil Rivers, as the Congo and Niger, Lagos and the Cameroons also send their share. Of palm-kernels, the export of which only began in 1860, 20,000 tons are now sent from the rivers to continental ports, and a like quantity to Great Britain. Rubber is as yet exported only by Old Calabar, but in increasing quantity and of improved quality, while efforts are being made to instruct the natives in its preparation elsewhere. Cocoa plantations have also been introduced with success, as both climate and soil are favourable to its growth. About 1000 tons of ebony are annually sent to Europe, and this trade is an increasing one, but that in ivory, on the other hand, has almost ceased.

**Cañon of the Colorado.**—The result of a survey of the Cañon of the Colorado, with a view to a railway through that celebrated gorge, is given in the *American Engineering News*. That this is practicable, despite its depth, without much tunnelling, is the conclusion reached by the engineer, who says that while in some places

the Cañon expands into wide valleys, there are, even where it narrows, terraces along its sides, like the "parallel roads" of Glen Roy in Scotland, which seem as if designed to carry the track. The tributaries will be easily bridged, and twenty miles of tunnelling and ninety-nine of granite cutting will be all required in the whole length of 1019 miles.

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## Notes on Novels.

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*The Alderman's Children.* By J. BRINSLEY RICHARDS.  
London: Richard Bentley & Son. 1891.

THE author of "The Duke's Marriage" does not, in the volumes before us, deal with heroic types of character, or attempt to rise, save in the misdeeds of his villain, above the level of the commonplace. His hero, for as such, in default of a better, Charlie Harrowell must be taken to stand, is one of the feebly amiable youths, for whose failings the invariable charitable excuse is that "they are easily led." Marked out by nature as the predestined prey of the social harpy, he falls easily into the clutches of one of this class, with more than ordinarily tragical consequences. The decoy with which Chauncey Travers baits his hook is a pretty and innocent sister, interwoven, without conscious participation on her side, into his tissue of crime. As her husband, a convict undergoing penal servitude at Portland for the supposed murder of his father-in-law, is an obstacle to his designs, he gets rid of him by a forged certificate of his death sent to his wife, and of hers to him. Charlie's engagement to her being thus rendered possible, the ruthless schemer then proceeds to further facilitate the course of true love, by the coldblooded murder of Alderman Harrowell, the father of his dupe. The latter, thus rendered the possessor of a very large fortune, naturally becomes the object of other matrimonial designs, but remains constant, despite the advances of a nobly-born maiden who is quite willing to take all the trouble of courtship off his hand. Meantime, the machinations of Travers are blown to pieces by the discovery of the innocence of his convict brother-in-law, and Charlie becomes once more the half-willing and permanent captive of the damsel of high degree. His sisters are assisted by the possession of large fortunes to form commonplace engagements, the one with a newspaper correspondent, the other with the ever-ready curate, and thus the requisite number of marriage bells are set jangling at the end of the third volume. Mr. Richards' vivacity of



style renders his narrative an eminently readable one, and his characters, if they do not soar above the ordinary level of human nature, are sufficiently true to the types they purport to represent.

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*The Quiet Mrs. Fleming.* By RICHARD PRYCE. London : Methuen & Co. 1891.

THIS volume is a good example of a sensational story, which keeps within the bounds of ordinary probability. It introduces "the quiet Mrs. Fleming" as the seemingly respectable tenant of a lodging in an obscure watering-place, where her secret, though a somewhat burdensome one, remains for some time unsuspected. It is connected with an exceptionally large and massive trunk placed in the lady's bedroom, which is always kept carefully locked, except during the one half-hour of the day, when it is entered by the woman of the house. Of course, the trained novel-reader quickly connects these suspicious circumstances with a mysterious jewel robbery then engaging the attention of the public and police, who have failed to discover any clue to the perpetrators. The victim of the crime, a lady living in a country-house, had previously entertained under her roof an elderly friend, accompanied, as her personal attendant, by Mary Harson, a very pretty and much-trusted parlour-maid, whose connection with the robbery, despite her unimpeachable antecedents, will be at once as clear to the perspicacious student of fiction as her identity with "the quiet Mrs. Fleming." Though guilty as an accomplice in the theft, by supplying the information which made it possible, she has only been so under the influence of a man who married her for the purpose of making her his tool. He, sought for by the police for murder as well as robbery, since he had shot one of the servants in the course of his burglarious proceedings, is the mysterious occupant of the trunk in the seaside lodgings, where his suicide, to escape imminent arrest, releases his partner in guilt from her bondage to him.

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*He Fell among Thieves.* By D. CHRISTIE MURRAY and HENRY HERMAN. London : Macmillan & Co. 1891.

THE title of this book is certainly justified by its contents, as no horde of banditti were ever more mercilessly bent on plunder than the gang of bloodsuckers into whose hands the hapless hero, Harry Wynne, falls at the outset of the tale. It is to be hoped, however, that few young men attain the age of three-and-twenty with such an unexhausted fund of gullibility as he was possessed of, and few, it must be added, fall into positions so equivocal without a greater amount of previous wrong-doing than his. His troubles all grow out of a comparatively innocent game of *ecarté*, at which he has the misfortune to lose three hundred pounds, and thus to make

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acquaintance with a phase of life worthy to be ticketed, like Dante's "Inferno," with a last adieu to hope. In other words, he falls into the hands of usurers, who manage to defame as well as fleece him; his relatives cast him off; and, worst of all, his engagement with the beautiful Inthia Grey is put an end to by her guardians. A seven years' absence, in the course of which he assumes the name of a dead comrade, Ronald Merton, and becomes a world-famous traveller, finds him still constant to his boyish love, and she to its memory, though believing him dead. His meeting with her in the disguise of his assumed identity and altered appearance is the most powerful stroke in the book, and the half-recognition, that thrills without convincing her, is described with a force and reality that redeems the improbability of the situation. The fresh adventures into which he is betrayed by his pseudonym are ingeniously contrived, and the shady characters to whom it introduces him are described with Mr. Christie Murray's usual happy power of delineating that genus.

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*Heaps of Money.* By W. E. NORRIS. New Edition. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1891.

**M**R. NORRIS is one of the most equal of contemporary novelists, and may always be relied on to produce a brightly written and entertaining story, whose interest is of a healthy and natural order. His success is due to his avoidance of those shoals and quicksands on which so many modern writers of fiction suffer shipwreck, forced sensationalism on the one hand, and introspective, or psychological analysis on the other. Keeping his events within the range of ordinary probability, and seeking his scenes and characters among those which a wide experience of men and things has evidently rendered familiar to him, he yet escapes, through his appreciative knowledge of human nature, from sinking to the lower level of the commonplace. In "Heaps of Money" we are introduced to an interesting heroine, living in comparative poverty with a slightly disreputable father, in the little town of Blasewitz, not far from the Saxon capital. Here love steals upon her in the guise of friendship, with George Mainwaring, a roving Englishman and dilettante violinist, as its object. The wealth, longed for in her girlish dreams, comes to her only to interpose a barrier to her happiness, its inheritance by her intervening between his tardy courtship and the proposal which the fear of misconception of his motives then withholds him from making. She goes to London to find that her inheritance brings cares and troubles unknown to her days of poverty, the principal being the estrangement of her father, under the deteriorating influences of unaccustomed prosperity. Driven by force of circumstances into a loveless engagement to a needy young nobleman, she only realises her position when her old hero returns from Canada with the imaginary barrier between them broken down by his acces-

sion in turn to a large fortune. The solution is afforded by the loss of hers, with her consequent release from all engagements contingent on it.

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*A Russian Priest.* Pseudonym Library. Vol. vii. London :  
T. Fisher Unwin. 1891.

THIS volume, translated from the Russian, is interesting rather as a study of rural life and the position of the priesthood in Russia, than as a romance. Its hero, Cyril Ignatievitch, filled with an exalted wish to devote himself to the poor and neglected, rejects the lucrative posts to which his academic distinctions entitle him, to take the incumbency of a remote rural parish. His first trial is from the indignation of his own family at his throwing away his opportunities, in their failure to understand or enter into his motives. In his parish he is an equal object of reprobation to his brother clergy, whom his reform of the prevailing system of charging heavy fees for all religious ministrations reduces almost to starvation. His wife, for marriage is an indispensable condition of ordination in Russia, is equally remote from sympathy with his feelings, and is persuaded by her mother to abandon him altogether, when a visitation of famine and fever in his district obliges him to forget all other ties in ministering to the necessities of his flock. Thus he is left, at the close of the tale, totally isolated, but an object of reverential affection to the poor people who have been saved by his exertions. The preface alludes to a movement among the upper classes in Russia, for elevating and influencing the peasantry by living amongst them and sharing the actual conditions of their lives. These philanthropic efforts are generally associated with the propagation of Nihilistic doctrines, and are consequently looked on with disfavour by the Government. The experiment seldom succeeds in its purpose, as those who undertake it, mostly young men and women educated in cities, are physically unfitted for it, and become objects of derision to the peasantry, whom they seek to leaven with their views.

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*The Witch of Prague.* By F. MARION CRAWFORD. London :  
Macmillan and Co. 1891.

MR. CRAWFORD, who is capable of so much better things, has not shown himself worthy of his reputation in entering the ranks of those second-rate authors, who have seized on the revival of interest in mesmeric phenomena, to furnish them with a subject capable of lending itself to cheap sensationalism. It is perhaps the greatest tribute to the author's power to say that the sequence of wild and repulsive extravagances he has strung together in the volumes before us are not absolutely unreadable, as they ought to be, if dependent on their intrinsic interest, for their power to enter-

tain. For he does not confine himself to the miracles of hypnotism alone, but interweaves them with other experiments in mystical physiology, such as the indefinite prolongation of life by the transfusion of blood, and the effects of this ghastly substitute for the long sought elixir of youth. Unorna, the Witch of Prague, of mysterious wealth and unknown parentage, combines in her own person all the powers possessed by the baleful enchantresses of old. Beautiful, with what seems to the ordinary reader the serious drawback of having eyes of different colours, she is endowed over and above her personal charms, with the mesmeric power of lulling people into a sleep or trance, in which they become the unreasoning slaves of her will. Though loved by many, she has remained herself impervious to such weakness, until the advent of the hero, known throughout as "The Wanderer," finds her for the first time in a melting mood. He, however, being on his side intent only on the search for a lost charmer of the name of Beatrice, remains entirely unresponsive, and when rendered hypnotically oblivious of his first love, can be induced to profess nothing more than the most languid friendship for her would-be rival. The witch has a confederate in a gnome-like being endowed with the improbable name of Keyork Arabian, and they carry on between them a series of machinations which it would be loss of time to trace out in detail.

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## Notices of Books.

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*The Autobiography of Archbishop Ullathorne.* With Selections from his Letters. Edited by AUGUSTA THEODOSIA DRANE. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. (7s. 6d.)

IT was known that Archbishop Ullathorne had left extensive notes on his earlier life, and that it was his intention that these should be used after his death, for the purpose of a biography. But it will probably be a surprise to most readers to find that before he died he put together what amounts to a fairly complete account of his career up to the time when, at the age of forty-four, he was appointed the first Bishop of Birmingham. It is no easy thing for a man to write his own life. No one can satisfactorily describe his own character, or weigh his own motives. As the Archbishop himself remarks, in a passage of a private letter quoted in the editor's preface, there are two objections to writing about one's self: "One is the necessary egotism of such a narrative, and the other the fact that the external and visible outlines which are all I can touch on, give no fair representation of that verit-

able life which is wholly of the soul." Yet a history of what was external and visible in the career of a remarkable man can never fail to discover his mind and spirit. The Archbishop could not help knowing that he had seen many men and many things, and that he had shared in one or two passages of history which must always be interesting to his fellow Catholics, and even in some degree to the British public in general. He was a man who was quite incapable of working up a narrative of this kind for the purpose of self-glorification. Indeed he was just the one to see with the utmost clearness that even a touch or a taint of vanity would spoil the story irretrievably, even from an artistic and a literary point of view. Yet he thought, and thought with justice, that a plain history, neither so brief as to be a mere diary, nor so colourless as to be without all expression of feeling, would be welcomed by those who revered his memory, and would not be unworthy of one whose ambition it was to walk in the sight of God rather than to bring himself before the eyes of men. Archbishop Ullathorne has performed this task with complete success. The narrative is easy and flowing, the style simple but graphic, and at times picturesque, whilst the opinions and reflections which he occasionally allows himself to put forth have an originality and a weight such as those who knew him were prepared to expect.

The book, as now presented, consists of twenty-four chapters. The principal divisions into which it may be said to fall are six: birth and early recollections, collegiate and monastic life, Australian experiences, visits to Rome, missionary work at Coventry, and the beginnings of his episcopate (at Bristol). Of these sections, that which relates to Australia (including his very remarkable reminiscences of Norfolk Island, as well as of New Zealand) is considerably the longest.

Born in 1806, at Pocklington, in Yorkshire, William Ullathorne was brought up by Catholic parents amid the Protestant surroundings of an English village. He learnt his prayers at his mother's knee, attended the village school, and boarded at times with the village blacksmith, and the village wheelwright. His childish fancy was excited by the sights and sounds of war which found their way even into remote Yorkshire solitudes—by the red-coated black-gaitered militia on the village green, the one-armed sailor who sang about the French, and the dark stories of "Buonaparte" and his doings. He attended the Mass of the powdered *émigré* priest in the two-windowed chapel at Pocklington, and silently imbibed impressions of the religious ideas of his Anglican and Methodist neighbours, whilst York Minster, the Grecian statues of a neighbouring park, the "Arabian Nights," and the Apocalypse variously contributed to "open his young mind to the ideal."

When he was about ten years old his father went to live at Scarborough, where the boy went to school in the transept of the old parish church, which was walled off for the purpose. He thus describes the religious "privileges" of Catholics at Scarborough about the year 1816 (the Mr. Haydock referred to was the Rev. George Leo Haydock, then resident at Whitby):

Whilst our education was going on in these Protestant schools we laboured under a great disadvantage in only having a priest at Scarborough one Sunday in six weeks. This was a great disappointment to my parents, who knew there was a good chapel and presbytery in the place, but did not find out that there was no resident priest until they had fixed their own residence. Mr. Haydock, the editor of Haydock's Bible, came once in three months; and Mr. Woodcock, of Egton Bridge, also came once in three months. They were both Duay priests, and as they generally dined at our house, I used to be much entertained with their college stories. On the five Sundays intervening between their sacerdotal visits, it was arranged that the flock should attend chapel morning and afternoon as usual, and my father and Mr. Pexton (who had been a Church student at Ushaw, but had given up the idea of the ministry) were appointed to act as readers on alternate Sundays. First the usual English prayers were said aloud, then all in silence read the prayers for Mass in the "Garden of the Soul," making a sort of spiritual Communion, and then the lector for the week read one of Archer's sermons, which my father did from his usual seat, but Mr. Pexton stood before the Communion rails facing the people. In the afternoon the usual psalms and prayers were said aloud, and the children said the catechism to the lectors. None of us youths had made our first Communion, and as to confirmation, we had none of us ever seen a bishop, either at Pocklington or at Scarborough. There were only four in all England and Wales.

About the age of thirteen, the young man set his mind on going to sea. Embarking at Scarborough, he led the life of a sailor for about four years, visiting various ports in the Mediterranean and the Baltic. Many of these places are here described, together with some of the scenes which struck his youthful imagination and indelibly impressed themselves upon his memory; although, as he says, "I was then but a cabin boy with my thoughts buried under a hairy cap" (p. 23).

It was at Memel that he received his call to give himself wholly to God. On board his vessel was a Catholic mate, who, one Sunday morning when they lay in Memel Harbour, took him with him to the Catholic Chapel. "The Mass had begun when we entered the Chapel. . . . The men knelt on the right side, the women on the left, all dressed very plainly and much alike. With their hands united and their eyes recollected, they were singing the Litany of Loretto to two or three simple notes, accompanied by an instrument like the sound of small bells. The moment I entered I was struck by the simple fervour of the scene; it threw me into a cold shiver, my heart was turned inward upon myself, I saw the claims of God upon me, and felt a deep reproach within my soul" (p. 31). During the rest of the voyage he read Marsollier's "Life of St. Jane Chantal," and Gobinet's "Instruction of Youth," the only religious books which his friend the mate, an old Stonyhurst boy, had on board with him; and on his return to Scarborough, it was speedily arranged that he was to go to Downside.

We have a very interesting sketch of his novitiate and early religious life at Downside. Here, after making his general confession and his first Communion, he began to understand the devotional life of the Catholic Church. He had now two things to look after, his studies and his soul; and in both, he says, "I had everything to make up."



He became a postulant at the beginning of 1824, and received the habit of St. Benedict on March 12th of the same year. The dignity, piety and kindness of the superiors attracted his reverence, and gave his heart a delicious sense of peace and calm after the roving and almost reckless life which he had been leading. The prior at that time was Dr. Barber, a grave and spiritual-minded man, whose beautiful discourses the archbishop often spoke of in after life. The novice-master was Father Polding, afterwards Archbishop of Sydney; in him, he says, "I found all that my soul needed"; to quote words of a later date, "You were my first, my constant and my best instructor in the spirit of the religious life. It was you who early inspired me with that missionary spirit which counts self as nothing in pursuit of the salvation of immortal souls." Afterwards, as a missionary priest he was to walk by the side of his venerated teacher at the Antipodes, and to be guided by him in his work. His Professor of Theology was Father Joseph Brown, afterwards Bishop of Newport and Menevia, of whom he always said that he was the only person from whose living voice he ever learnt much. Most of what he acquired was through books and reading; but in Dr. Brown he found a teacher who spoke from the digested stores of his mind. The archbishop, in this chapter, records with some minuteness, what he calls the great landmarks of his reading as a student, mentioning the subjects, treatises and authors which he went through at Downside. He confesses he used to read too late at nights, contrary to rule, and that as a consequence, he was often found wanting in choir, when Matins had begun; but this fault he corrected, confessing it and receiving a public rebuke. The editors add, on the authority of a friend to whom he confided it, that whenever in later years he visited Downside, he always assisted at the office in choir as an act of reparation for former negligence. We may remark that it is somewhat strange that no reminiscences are found in these pages of the opening of the Church at Downside in 1824—an event which was not without interest at the time.

In 1831 Archbishop Ullathorne was sent to Ampleforth, and was appointed Prefect of Discipline. He tells us that there was at first a small rebellion against him, the boys chalking on the walls "No Hunt! No Reform." (The editor might have favoured the present generation with a note on this passage, for fame is fleeting, and it is possible that in these days some people may not be clear in their minds about "Orator Hunt," who in that stormy year 1831 was, to a large and respectable portion of the English people, the leading demon of radicalism and mob-rule). The new Prefect, however, quelled the disturbance, and he and his boys "became good friends and understood each other." It was at Ampleforth that he began to study St. Denys the Areopagite, which exercised a great influence on his mind; and there is a tradition (though it is not referred to in these pages) that some of the bad behaviour of his young flock occurred at times when their Prefect was so immersed in a huge tome of this favourite author as to have forgotten their existence. It was in this year that he was ordained priest. He says:

Meanwhile, I had received the Order of Priesthood, together with Mr. Sinnott, from Bishop Painswick at Ushaw. This, to me, great event took place on the Ember Saturday of September 1831; nor need I dwell upon the great change which the priesthood wrought in my spiritual habits. Only those who, after long preparation, have entered under obedience into that sublime state and office, can in any degree realise what the Sacrament of the Priesthood does for the soul of the receiver. For weeks after my ordination I seemed to feel the sacred unction on my hands. The thought and feeling with which the Priesthood inspired me was one of "sacrifice," making it appear to be the natural life of a priest whose soul had undergone a transformation into a new order of existence. The ideas of "monk" and "priest" appeared to my mind's eye in singular correlation with each other. The monk, as the man spontaneously offered to God through the call of His election of Grace; whilst the priesthood, imparting the distinctive character of Christ to the soul, absorbed the hidden life of Our Lord, and brought Him forth an open sacrifice for the souls of men. The tremendous mystery of the altar took visible form in my eyes, and was coloured to my inward sense as that divine oblation of the Immaculate Lamb, which on Heaven's golden altar was ever offered before the majesty of the Father, the earthly repetition of which made by mortal man seemed to make the material altar stream with grace (p. 51.)

In 1832, with the full consent and advice of his superiors at Downside, he sailed for Australia, with the titles of Vicar-general and of "His Majesty's Catholic chaplain in New South Wales." There have appeared from time to time partial accounts of the laborious and eventful ten years which followed. The full history of what he did and went through, which occupies 150 pages of the book before us, will be read with much interest by all English speaking Catholics, but especially by the present generation of priests and laity who have entered into the inheritance of his labours in the vast and prosperous continent to which he gave the most vigorous portion of his life. We will not attempt even to summarise it. When he arrived at Sydney (after touching at Van Dieman's Land, and spending a short time at Hobart Town) he looked so youthful, that Father Therry, the priest in charge, and even Father Therry's housekeeper, were at first somewhat patronising. But after dinner Dr. Ullathorne produced the document appointing him Vicar-General over the whole continent, and as soon as Father Therry had read it, he immediately went on his knees. This act of obedience and submission naturally gave Dr. Ullathorne great relief. But, though his jurisdiction was extensive, his flock was small, and his fellow-labourers in the vineyard were both few and unsatisfactory. The morning after his arrival, as he came from Mass in the little chapel (to quote his words):—

Father Therry met me and said: "Sir, there are two parties among us, and I wish to put you in possession of my ideas on the subject." I replied, "No, Father Therry, if you will pardon me, there are not two parties." He warmed up, as his quick sensitive nature prompted, and replied, with his face in a glow: "What can you know about it? You have only just arrived, and have had no experience." "Father Therry," I said with gravity, "listen to me; there were two parties yesterday, there are none to-day; they arose from the

unfortunate want of some person endowed with ecclesiastical authority, which is now at an end. For the present, in New South Wales, I represent the Church, and those who gather not with me scatter. So now there is an end of parties."

Among the striking features of this part of the autobiography is a sketch of Archbishop Polding, the first Bishop of the Australian continent, who went out in 1835. It is too long to quote, but there are many yet living who remember the venerable old man, and who will read with emotion the beautiful pages (from 112 to 116) which describe his incessant labour, his wonderful influence over the convicts, and his tender and motherly heart.

Dr. Ullathorne's work at Coventry, which extended from 1841 to 1846, and included the building of the church and the beginning of his relations with Mother Margaret Hallahan, is treated in considerable detail. There is much to be learned in this part of the narrative by missionary priests on the art of missionary labour, and the way to win souls. The writer speaks here of the time at Coventry as a most happy time, and so he always spoke of it. But there exist one or two letters of his—soon, we hope, to see the light—which express in great detail the ideas and the aspirations of his heart in the presence of the great work of the conversion of the country. These were written in the little parlour of his Coventry presbytery, and they are necessary to complete the picture of his missionary work. He had no illusions about mission work in England. He knew well that the vast fortress of Protestantism was not to be carried by a *coup de main*. When Dr. Gentili, in later days, used to express his opinion that the English clergy were asleep, and that the great requirement of the time was the excitement of missions and of controversial warfare, an opinion which that great preacher modified before his lamented death, Dr. Ullathorne maintained that the priests, as a rule, thoroughly understood their work, and spoke with great conviction of their steady, quiet, and prudent labours, and of their self-denial.

The book concludes with the beginnings of the writer's episcopate, describing his work in Bristol (including his "completion" of the present Catholic Cathedral), and leaving us at his entrance into Birmingham in August 1848. We have said enough, we trust, to show its interest, and doubtless it will be widely read. Whoever reads it will find it an unconsciously-drawn portrait of the writer's mind. We have here a man who is earnest and spiritual; who is fond of getting to the root of things, yet rather proud of being a man of policy and practical resource; who loves souls, and lives for the Church of God; who never hesitates to cross an ocean, or to write a book, or to enter a condemned cell, or to make interest with the great and the powerful if he can by any means promote the kingdom of God; who can tell a story well, and loves to say a thing quaintly; can enjoy a jest, and is, in his old age, just a little inclined to the old man's fault of garrulity. We have here Archbishop Ullathorne as he talked in his later years to a younger generation, and the book, though it teaches much, will suggest more—by bringing back to the mind the great principles and the

spiritual views for which he laboured all his life through, by his work and by his books.

We need not only add that the editor's work is excellent, and that the notes give additional value to the text.

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*The Letters of the late Father George Porter, S.J. Archbishop of Bombay.*  
London : Burns and Oates. 1891. (7s. 6d.)

THE late Archbishop of Bombay, better known to a very wide circle of friends here in England as Father George Porter, was a voluminous letter writer. Busy as he was with the cares of important offices in the religious Order of which he was such a distinguished member, he found time to answer every letter addressed to him, and to answer it in detail, and as a rule, on the same day on which it was received. It was his custom, too, to add to his letters little details that he thought would interest his correspondent, notes on travel, comments on books (of which he was "a mighty hunter"), and shrewd observations on current events. The volume before us contains only letters dating from the later years of his life, and only a tithe even of the correspondence of this period, yet it ranges over an immense variety of subjects, and he must be a very fastidious reader who cannot find in its pages much to interest him. Many will turn to it chiefly in order to gather here and there something of the wise counsel on the ways of the spiritual life, in which Father Porter used to display at once his wide knowledge of the traditional lore of the masters of the science of the saints, and that rare practical wisdom that knew so well how to apply it to the circumstances of the busy life of our own day. At times too in letters to converts one finds difficulties met, or the teaching of the Church summed up with the clear accuracy of the thoroughly trained theologian. The Indian letters which form the second part of the volume present a vivid picture of missionary life in a great diocese, where the Church has not yet achieved anything like the success that has attended the efforts of her missionaries in some of the older missions of the South of India, and where in fact the period of difficult beginnings is not yet over. These Indian letters should be carefully studied by all who wish to realise the position of the Church in our Eastern Empire. Here and there are passages which a more cautious editor might have kept out of print, as they frankly comment upon persons still living in the Bombay diocese, but even these possible indiscretions add to the value of the book by making the picture more complete. Death overtook the Archbishop in the midst of plans for great things in his diocese, of which he hoped at least to lay the foundations, leaving their completion to others. His practical common sense forbade him to hope for speedy and sweeping changes for the better in Indian life. What was to be done he knew must be the gradual growth of a long period. One idea comes out strongly in the letters, the conviction that the Catholic Church would be the great agent of

reform, and that the first great step must be to improve the status of the women of India, the mothers of her people.

The book is from the first page to the last a treasury of ripe thought and shrewd observation, bright with that even good humour and good temper that were so characteristic of the writer of the letters. For the many friends who so often turned to him for counsel or encouragement, and never in vain, it will have a special value, for it will come to them like a voice from the dead, and in its pages they will find the portrait of "Father George" traced by his own hand.

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*Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer.* By F. A. GASQUET, O.S.B., D.D., and EDMUND BISHOP. Second Edition. London: John Hodges. 1891. (12s.)

WE are glad to receive a second edition of Dom Aidan Gasquet's and Mr. Edmund Bishop's work on "Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer." The issue of another edition of that volume so soon after the first bespeaks the interest that is taken in this liturgical question at the present day. A time there was, and that not far removed from our own, when few cared to inquire into the merits or demerits of the Book of Common Prayer. In those days Anglicans of the pious type looked upon this child of the English Reformation as heaven-born. On the other hand, the Latitudinarian majority considered it as good as any other offspring, and clung to it because it was English-born, and had defiance to the Pope of Rome writ large on its brow. The ideas of the people of this nation have changed considerably during the course of this nineteenth century, and nowadays most Anglicans affect a love for that which is ancient and genuine in Liturgy, and hence the growing desire of some in the English national Church to set up an ancient pedigree for the Book of Common Prayer. The decision of the Archbishop of Canterbury and his assessors in the Lincoln judgment was a desperate attempt to establish both nobility of origin and a Catholic parentage for the sixth Edward's bantling. On each of the points at issue we find in the archiepiscopal decision allusions to and quotations from the ancient and venerable Liturgies of the Eastern and of the Western Church. But that which seemed most to fascinate the primatial mind was the Mozarabic Liturgy. "Scholars are now investigating," says Dr. Benson, "the large use of it made in other parts of the books in 1549 and 1552" (p. 10). This passage, no doubt, thrilled with expectation the soul of many a Ritualistic clergyman eager to justify and glorify from his pulpit that book, which the same Archbishop has styled "*our incomparable Liturgy.*"

Though the authors of "Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer" published their work before the delivery of the Lincoln judgment, they have virtually answered these pretensions, and have clearly proved the Anglican Liturgy to be anything but heaven-born. They have further shown that even its earthly parentage can lay no claim either to ancientness of descent or to ecclesiastical respectability.

The Book of Common Prayer is the Breviary and Missal united into one volume. We must keep these two branches of the Liturgy entirely apart, if we desire to know the worth of Cranmer's production. No one will be found to question the fact that before the Council of Trent there existed, by virtue of custom and the tacit approval of the Holy See, a certain freedom in the ordering of the Psalter and of the Lectionary of the Divine Office. That freedom had its limitations. The division of the daily service of God into definite canonical hours was preceptive as well as traditional. No local prelate, however great might be his see, was at liberty to entirely recast the Breviary as he listed. The boast of the Reformers was that they swept away the superstitious accretions of the Dark Ages, and returned faithfully to primitive usages. This was an empty boast. There is no gainsaying that prayer at the third, sixth, and ninth hour of the day is an Apostolic usage. The Acts of the Apostles bear witness to this. The Divine Office throughout the Universal Church still adheres to this Apostolic practice in the Hours of Tierce, Sext, and None. What, we may ask, has become of these services in the Anglican Liturgy? They have been omitted altogether, and that without apology or regret. Matins and Evensong alone survive, but in so altered a form that they can scarcely be recognised as having once found a place in the Breviary. Even Matins and Vespers would have shared the fate of the rest had not social and pecuniary considerations tempered the fiery zeal of the reformer. The ancient benefices rested then, as they do now, on the due and faithful performance of the choral services. No divine office, no enjoyment of the fruits of the benefice, was a canonical axiom then as at present. It became a matter of necessity to keep up as much choral service as would prove a title to the emoluments of the ancient cathedrals, and keep in check the royal spoiler's greed. Had the Crown seized and appropriated the revenues of all the ancient benefices, there would not be found in the Anglican Liturgy at this day even a remnant of the choral services for which the cathedrals had been piously endowed. Matins and Evensong would now be as much forgotten by the people of this land as are the Hours of Tierce, Sext, and None.

If from the Breviary we turn to the Liturgy of the Holy Mass, we shall find the spirit of reckless innovation still more rampant. The freedom that was tolerated in the Divine Office, was never claimed or exercised in the Liturgy of the Altar. The Mozarabic Rite, as those of both East and West, kept intact the five great Scriptural and Apostolic divisions of the Sacrifice of the Christian Church. Of these divisions none were so sacred and important as the *Action* or *Consecration*. The Apostolic See from the earliest ages possessed, cherished, and kept inviolate a *canon* or *rule* for this portion of the Mass. This canon had been followed in Britain from the first. The Celtic bishop and priest, and after them the Saxon, Dane, and Norman, all alike sacrificed to God according to the very letter of this venerable rite. Great Popes, such as St. Leo and St. Gregory, inserted a few words into the text of the canon, and did so with holy fear and humble



reverence. They would have considered it an impiety to alter or to reject any portion of it. Cranmer and the Edwardian Commissioners felt no such fear or reverence. They altered, rejected, and inserted to their heart's content. The outcome of their godless work we possess in the Anglican Communion service. The scholars who, according to Archbishop Benson, are devoting time and learning to the demonstration of the antiquity and apostolic origin of the contents of the Book of Common Prayer have set themselves to a hopeless task. We may take it as certain that the public will never set its eyes upon the result of their researches.

Earnest souls really seeking for truth are not left without instruction and guidance. If any Anglican is desirous of knowing whence Cranmer and his fellow-reformers drew their liturgical inspiration, he cannot do better than procure the work we are noticing and study it carefully. He will learn from its pages that the Lutheran Liturgy forms the basis of his Communion Service, and that upon this Lutheran foundation rests a superstructure of Calvinistic teaching regarding the Blessed Eucharist. Do what we may, our prayer must always reflect the creed we believe. Dom Gasquet and Mr. Edmund Bishop have not laboured in vain to show the pressure that Geneva brought to bear upon Cranmer, and the result in the Prayer Book of 1552 of that Archbishop's lapses from Lutheranism into Calvinism.

We trust that the authors will pursue their researches yet further. There is a question which becomes of supreme importance whenever the validity of Anglican Orders is discussed. That question is the history of the Edwardian Ordinal. Dom Gasquet and his fellow-labourer have set apart in their work a special chapter for this subject. Its contents we must confess to be disappointing, for little is said there of the Anglican Ordinal, and of that little nothing is new. Let us hope that they will not allow this important historical question to remain where they have left it. We feel confident that if they only persevere they will find abundant materials to throw light upon this dark page of the English Reformation.

This brief notice of their work cannot be concluded more forcibly than by a quotation from the Preface to the second edition. The extract is both suggestive and practical:

The study of liturgy can be pursued usefully and fruitfully only on those rational methods which should govern all historical investigation. In the case of a document like the Book of Common Prayer, it is a dictate of common-sense that any examination of its origin and sources should be conducted with a primary regard to the circumstances in which, and the opinions of the persons by whom, it was produced. In a word, it must be put into its proper historical setting and illustrated from the writings of those who composed it, or their friends, and not by the productions of those centuries the doctrine and practice of which it was the avowed aim and intention of its authors to destroy.

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*Natural Theology.* By BERNARD BOEDDER, S.J. (Manuals of Catholic Philosophy: Stonyhurst Series). London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891. (7s. 6d.)

THIS volume considerably increases the debt which English-speaking Catholics owe to the Jesuit Fathers who have brought out the "Stonyhurst Series" of philosophical manuals. It is really a treatise *de Deo*, dealing with the proofs of the existence of God, the divine attributes, and the relation of God to the universe—in plain intelligible English, and adapted to the difficulties raised in our own country at the present day. The author is evidently well acquainted with Mill, Spencer, Huxley, and other contemporary writers; they are quoted freely, and clearly answered. Perhaps he is even more convincing in his replies to the subtle objections raised by Kant. The volume thus commends itself, alike to those who wish to have difficulties removed, and to those who desire to see the Catholic treatment of the fundamental basis of theology. If we are to criticise at all a work so excellent in its design and general execution, we should be disposed to say that points controverted in the Catholic schools, particularly between the Dominicans and Jesuits, are dwelt upon at disproportionate length, considering the class of readers for whom this volume is intended. Even as it is, we doubt if they will carry away from its perusal any definite idea of physical premotion, *concursum*, or *scientia media*; though they are stated with as much clearness as the difficulty of the subjects allows, and the traditional doctrine of the Society is defended with candour and moderation.

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*The Life of B. John Juvenal Ancina.* Edited by CHARLES HENRY BOWDEN, Priest of the Oratory. London: Kegan Paul. 1891. (9s.)

THIS is not a translation, but an original life of a great Servant of God, whose history partakes of the attractiveness of that of St. Philip himself. Born in 1545, he entered the Oratory at the age of thirty-three, and died Bishop of Saluzzo in 1604. His life, before he became Bishop, is like a reflection of that of the holy founder of the Oratory. We find the same detachment, the same humility, the same power of attracting souls, and the same holy simplicity. All these characteristics, and many others, are illustrated in this volume, with numerous anecdotes, and with an interesting selection from the holy man's letters. He was learned and cultured, well-acquainted with all that had come in with the *Renaissance*. It is, indeed, one of the most interesting points in this life to observe how a saint endeavours to stem the free and luxurious current of the age. Blessed Juvenal was, for example, an accomplished musician. In his younger days, with the exception of an occasional game of chess, his sole recreation was music. In his letters he often alludes to instrumental and vocal music, and we cannot doubt he knew Palestrina and other great Italian composers of the day. But he was always trying to prevent music from

ministering to sin. He tore up the sheets of a poor composer, who showed him some songs, because he said the words were bad. He wrote decent and holy words to all the popular tunes of Naples, and, what is more, he persuaded the people to sing them. He stopped dangerous dances by giving concerts himself, with vocal and instrumental music. He took the greatest pains, both as an Oratorian and as a Bishop, to banish from the Church all profane and theatrical performances. He did not, however, exclude all but Gregorian chant. "He wished Vespers to be sung with the best music, or, if that were not attainable, with Gregorian chanting faultlessly executed." He neutralised the Carnival at Saluzzo by a rival "entertainment" in the Church, consisting of canticles, music, dialogues, and (what was the chief attraction) his own wonderful sermons, which would, on occasion, even empty a neighbouring theatre.

The friendship of the Blessed Juvenal with St. Francis of Sales is well known, and we have in this book a special chapter on the subject. It would have been well, perhaps, to have reprinted the statement which St. Francis wrote in reference to his holy friend when the process of his canonisation was begun in Rome, for the volume of the Oratorian Lives in which it is found in English is not always at hand, and its proper place is here. Among all the verbal plays attributed to pious persons, there are few which are more touching than those which passed between these two. One day, when St. Francis had preached at Saluzzo on the Feast of the Invention of the Cross, Blessed Juvenal said to him, playing on his name, "*Tu vere sal es*"; whereupon the Saint returned his compliment in the words which all the world knows, "*Immo tu sal et lux.*"

The book will be found most interesting and devotional. The style is easy and unexceptionable. Perhaps the page is too much cut up into paragraphs, but to some this may seem an advantage.

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*Life of St. Aloysius Gonzaga.* By Father VIRGIL CEPARI, S.J. New Translation, with Notes, from Original Sources, Letters, and Documents. Edited by Father FRANCIS GOLDIE, S.J. Einsiedeln: Benziger & Co. London: Robert Washbourne.

FATHER GOLDIE'S work, appropriately dedicated to the General of his Order, is, in the main, a translation of Father Schroeder's splendidly elaborated edition of Cepari's "*Life of St. Aloysius Gonzaga.*" No labour or expense has been spared to make it worthy of the Saint's Tercentenary, and the result must needs satisfy the most exacting critic. The excellent English version of the biography, written by the angelic youth's intimate friend, has its value highly enhanced by the beautiful engravings which meet us at every page, and by a copious collection of notes, almost surpassing the text in interest, while the book has been brought out in a style that reflects the highest credit on the publishers. It is a positive delight to see

before us, one after another in long succession, the exquisitely engraved pictures of the palaces and churches with which St. Aloysius was familiar at Castiglione or Mantua, Milan or Rome; and to gaze on the features of Popes and Cardinals, princes and noble ladies, learned professors and saintly religious, with whom he was wont to converse. We live again in those days. But even deeper is the impression made on us by word-pictures of the Society to which the noble youth belonged. In the princely house from which he sprung all were not saints. One remarkable incident of St. Aloysius's career after his entering the Society is the active part he took in trying to arrest the series of disasters that followed on the ill-advised marriage of his brother, the Marquis Rodolph. Rodolph had fallen in love with the beautiful Helen Aliprandi, a young lady of Castiglione, of great wealth, but of rank much inferior to his own. After a fashion of courtship not unknown in times nearer ourselves, the young Marquis caused her to be seized by his servants when out walking, thrust into a close carriage, and carried off to one of his country-houses, where he privately married her. The result was a mortal feud with his own uncle, Alphonsus Gonzaga, Lord of Castel Goffredo. Alphonsus having no male children, Rodolph was the legal heir to his estates and lordship, and the old Lord of Castel Goffredo had set his heart on a marriage between the Marquis and his only daughter. On hearing of his nephew's private marriage with Helen Aliprandi his fury became ungovernable. A band of *bravos* murdered Alphonsus, presumably in the interests of Rodolph, who, on receiving the tidings from their chief, marched on Castel Goffredo, and took possession of it by force. He was, of course, tried for his uncle's murder and acquitted, showed himself very harsh towards the widow and daughter of the murdered man, was for other causes excommunicated, and finally shot dead, as he was entering the Church to hear Mass, on January 31st, 1593, by his oppressed vassals, who at once rose in revolt against his family and pillaged the castle, while his mother, the Dowager Marchioness, was just receiving the news of the miracles wrought by her other son, Aloysius. Poor Helen Aliprandi was cruelly treated by the other branch of the family, who looked on her as being, like her namesake of Troy, the source of all the evil. But the family woes were far from being at an end. Four years later, Donna Martha, St. Aloysius's mother, was seized at Solferino by hired brigands, carried to Castiglione, and her son Diego, a boy of fourteen, was murdered in her arms before the gates of her castle, she herself being left for dead on the ground. At this moment Aloysius appeared to her, and restored her to health. Helen Aliprandi was likewise consoled by him on her deathbed. By her marriage with Rodolph, she had three daughters, Cynthia, Olympia, and Gridonia. Their portraits are given, from ancient oil paintings, on page 299. Cynthia founded a community of high-born ladies, under the title of "Virgins of Jesus," at Castiglione. It was established on St. Aloysius's Day, June 21st, 1608. Father Cepari, the Saint's holy biographer, directed them, and sketched their constitutions, and they preserve his MS. in

the community, which still flourishes. Cynthia Gonzaga, the oldest daughter, as we have said, of the beautiful and ill-fated bride of Rodolph, will, it is hoped, ere long be venerated by the Church. Her body is still incorrupt. It is not easy to say how much our interest in these events is deepened by being able to read in facsimile the Saint's letters to his brother, written when in the midst of these family misfortunes, and to gaze on the portraits of actors and on pictures of scenes in the tragic history of the family of St. Aloysius, given us in this noble volume. It would exceed our limits were we to give even a summary of the results of Father Schroeder's labours. Among other things he has discovered the occasion and date of the visit of St. Aloysius to the great Benedictine Abbey of Monserrat, of which a view is given. Father Cepari has not failed to note St. Aloysius's affection for Benedictines, and how "he was particularly delighted when some Benedictine monks of the congregation of Monte Cassino came" to his father's house. Their testimony was taken at the process of his Beatification. The second of the four letters of approval prefixed by Father Cepari to his work, is written by Dom Paul Cattaneo, Benedictine Professor of Theology in his monastery at Brescia. And here we take leave of Father Goldie's exquisite work, a truly noble offering to St. Aloysius on his glorious Tercentenary.

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*La Vie de S. Louis de Gonzague.* Par le R. P. MESCHLER, S.J.  
Traduit de l'Allemand par M. l'Abbé LEBRÉQUIER. Paris:  
P. Lethielleux. (3 francs.)

**A**LTHOUGH this modest French *brochure* lacks the attractiveness of Father Goldie's splendidly illustrated and annotated work, it is not only a learned, but a most elegantly written life of St. Aloysius. The author takes occasion from the centenary year to look back on the fortunes of the Society in the Eternal city. In 1591, June 22, the body of Aloysius Gonzaga was laid in a humble sepulchre in the Church of the Roman College, then called the Annunziata. In 1671, on the 21st of June, the majestic Church of St. Ignatius had taken the place of the Annunziata, and men were at work on a splendid chapel in honour of "Blessed" Aloysius. In 1791 an inscription in letters of gold above the altar of the same chapel told the faithful it was erected to the honour of "Saint" Aloysius; but strangers kept guard round his tomb, for his order had been scattered and suppressed; unless perchance, from time to time, an aged lay-teacher, unknown to the bystanders, would kneel and weep in secret before the shrine. In 1891 the whole Church flocks to offer her homage at the tomb of St. Aloysius, but for the Society of Jesus it is hard to see the cross of Piedmont on the door of the Collegio Romano, even though the Papal arms over the door of the basilica tell us that the shrine of the Saint is still in the possession of the Church.

*Maria die Katholische.* Eine Skizze ihres Lebens und ihrer Regierung.  
 Von ATHANASIUS ZIMMERMANN, S.J. Freiburg im Breisgau :  
 Herder. (2 marks 20.)

FATHER ZIMMERMANN adds to German patience in research and indefatigable industry the faculty of making his characters live and move in his pages. The unfair treatment which Mary Tudor has received at the hands of historians, the indiscriminating manner in which her reign has been passed over with a few superficial remarks as to its unimportant place in history, necessitate a somewhat polemical tone, and her biographer must therefore be more or less of an apologist. But Father Zimmermann has done good work in showing her fortitude under suffering, her tact when restored to her father's good graces, her courage and royal bearing in the presence of her enemies, and her single-hearted devotion to duty before all. He contrasts her firmness and decision with her sister's flippancy and vacillation, the clearness and force of her language with Elizabeth's involved and affected style, and he shows that the great national movements, such as the extension of the English Navy and the spread of commerce, commonly supposed to belong to the Elizabethan age, received their first impetus under Mary. It was she who brought the commercial treaty with Russia to a happy conclusion, and if it was her misfortune to lose Calais, she inaugurated an era of more peaceable relations with France than had ever before existed for long together. Under her justice was administered impartially, and her Court was a model for all nations and all times.

In this slight sketch, occupying some one hundred and sixty pages, Father Zimmermann has consulted no fewer than forty-six authorities, none of which could be safely ignored. It is, however, to be regretted that so painstaking a writer should have missed one work of paramount importance for the end of Mary's reign, the oversight of which has led him into a mis-statement. Fortunately the error affects only side issues. The work we refer to is the "*Relations Politiques des Pays Bas et de l'Angleterre sous le Règne de Philippe II.*," published under the direction of Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, President of the Royal Historical Commission of Belgium. It contains, among other valuable material, the correspondence carried on between Philip II. and the Conde de Feria, and contained in the Simancas archives. The letters in question relate to a project of marriage between Elizabeth and the King of Spain. Father Zimmermann says (p. 125) that Philip never entertained the thought of marrying Elizabeth, and he bases this assertion on the fact that no mention is made of any such project in the despatches and letters of the Spanish ambassadors. Michiel, the Venetian ambassador, says Father Zimmermann mistook gossip for fact. Now, the Conde de Feria, Philip's envoy extraordinary, passed from the bedside of the dying queen to salute her successor, and soon afterwards (Nov. 21, 1558, Simancas archives, lig. 811) finds it opportune to make the following insinuation in a letter to his master: "If Elizabeth chooses a consort out of England, she will cast her eyes on



your majesty." To do Philip justice, he was not dazzled by the prospect. On the 9th December he replied that the alliance was a serious matter, and one on which he had not yet made up his mind; "one must," he concluded, "promise nothing, but still less discourage the Queen" (Simancas archives, Secret de Estado, lig. 812). On the 28th he expresses himself as still wishing to consider the possibility, and suggests that meanwhile it will be advisable to remove all obstacles. Elizabeth then objected that if she married the King of Spain, he would be able to reside but little in England, and she would suffer from the political necessities which had embittered the life of her sister. Hereupon followed a long and secret negotiation, a series of coquettish skirmishes on the part of Elizabeth, of careful consideration on the part of Philip, as to whether the marriage would be for the permanent benefit of religion, of objections on the part of Elizabeth's Council, and of grave suspicions as to her good faith on the part of the negotiating ambassador, De Feria.

We may add that Father Zimmermann's *brochure* is an interesting and valuable contribution to the Tudor literature of the day.

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*Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in Irland von der Einführung des Christenthums bis auf die Gegenwart.* Von ALPHONS BELLESHEIM. Mainz: Kirchheim. 1891.

THIS history, numbering 2096 pages in three thick volumes, is eminently a proof of that retentiveness of mind which characterise the German savant. It teems with facts, and it would seem as if no detail bearing on the subject has been omitted, and both fact and detail are supported by evidence. The first three chapters deal with St. Patrick exhaustively, and, taken alone, they would serve as a biography of the great Apostle who bequeathed his missionary spirit to the people who were long remarkable for carrying the Christian faith to nations sitting in heathen darkness. Dr. Bellesheim has given due weight to this special feature, without which any history of the Church in Ireland would be incomplete. The first volume carries the work down to the time of Henry VIII. Its last four chapters treat of Liturgy, studies, and art in the Church, whose fair outer fabric was so soon to be ruthlessly destroyed. The second volume opens in 1509, the beginning of woe, and furnishes the best explanation possible of the Irish question of to-day.

Ireland was not servile as England was, and did not bend slavishly to the will of a tyrant. Protestant pastors were forced upon the Church, but the Catholic hierarchy as a body were faithful, and the succession of true bishops remained unbroken. To the mass of the Celtic people the Saxon ever remained an intruder. The same persecution broke over Ireland as over England, with this difference, that whereas the English martyrs were a glorious exception to the prevailing apostasy, the Irish, as a people, suffered a slow martyrdom.

The third volume opens with the Orange sovereigns (1690), and continues the history down to the present day. The sufferings inflicted on the Catholic Irish were the comment of Europe. For once the nations forgot their selfish interests to plead for that persecuted people. Venice, Spain, Bavaria, and Austria were amongst the generous intercessors, but it was not till 1793 that the iron grasp of penal enactments was softened. The Bill for Relaxation of Penalties removed the fine for non-attendance at the Protestant worship on Sundays. In Dr. Bellesheim's words:

It allowed Catholics to vote for members of Parliament and for administrative offices in towns and boroughs; to become members of corporations, with the exception of Trinity College, Dublin; to bear arms under certain conditions; to occupy any civil or military position from which they had not excluded themselves; to take a doctor's degree and offices in colleges under the jurisdiction of the Dublin University. . . . They remained excluded from both Houses of Parliament, as well as from nearly every office of administration or of justice. Neither could they become Privy Councillors, Queen's Councillors, Trinity Fellows, sheriff, under-sheriff, or staff-general.

As is well known, the measure which reopened the doors of civilisation to Catholics in the United Kingdom came from Ireland. Yet for long years emancipation itself was "an empty name and a mocking unreality." It was not till Lord Melbourne's Ministry that it passed from a written to a practical law. As to sources, we may mention that Dr. Bellesheim has himself been to the fountain-head, and exhausted the treasures of Rome and London, to build up this great historical monument. His "History of the Church in Ireland" will, we trust, be as fortunate in finding an able translator as his "History of the Church in Scotland" has been.

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*Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore* ("Anecdota Oxoniensia").  
 Edited by WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L. London: The Clarendon Press.

THIS is supposed to be an *editio princeps* of the "Book of Lismore," of which there is a copy, on vellum, in the library of the Duke of Devonshire. It is so full of blunders and serious faults that a book nearly as large as itself would be required to point them out. It will suffice to allude to them in a cursory way. To begin with, the *addenda et corrigenda*, printed at the end of the volume, amount to nearly 300. Some of them are childish, as: "*for mor read mór; for domain read doman, and cancel the note*" pp. 408 and 409. It appears as if the editor gave the proofs, or the volume itself, to some one who understood Irish, and that the printed corrections had come too late to be made in their proper places.

Dr. Stokes labours under two radical defects in attempting the editing of an old Irish manuscript. He is not acquainted with modern Irish, and he is not a Catholic. Get a fereigner, who learns English

from Chaucer, without ever reading Pope or Dryden, and what sort of language would he speak or write? Who could understand him! Those who learn modern Greek first have very little difficulty in learning the ancient Greek and understanding it thoroughly. There was no fixed orthography in those old times, and contractions were very common. Where are we to find the key for those difficulties? It is to be found in the language as spoken and written during the last four hundred years. Such a knowledge would save an editor or translator from mixing up cases—making *datives nominatives*, &c., and forgetting the value of possessive pronouns. Here is an instance of the latter defect: “*A Chanair, eirigh, ol Senán, ‘docum mo mathar do shethar fil isin indsi út tair, co nderntar h’aighidhecht ann,*” p. 72. This is translated, p. 219, “Go, saith Senan, to thy sister, who dwells in yon island in the east, that thou mayest have guesting therein.” It should be, “Go to my mother, thy sister,” &c. According to the text, the lady who asked admission to the island, and wanted the last Sacraments, was Senan’s aunt.

There has been a theory started lately that the Faith, as preached by St. Patrick, was different from the Catholic faith which is held by the Irish at present. This theory has been so often refuted that it would be needless to refer to it here, had not the editor made a controversial use of his manuscripts. It is well to show some of the mistakes into which he has fallen from starting with such a theory. He coolly says: “The documents in this book throw little new light on the form of Christianity which existed in Ireland in the early Middle Ages” (Preface, p. cv.). He draws wonderful conclusions from this assertion, and mistranslates in order to support them. He says again; “Penance, Matrimony, and Holy Orders are referred to in these Lives; but not as Sacraments.” What is his idea of a Sacrament? Did the writers of these Lives commit a fault in saying that such a one received Orders, without adding a *nota bene*, Orders are a Sacrament? Let us take the word *sacarbhaic* as an example. This word is defined to be *Confession* in the dictionaries, and words are quoted from the *Leabar Breac* to support such an interpretation. This editor always translates it *sacrifice*. Now, in the four places in which the word occurs, in the text, it evidently means the *Last Rites* of the Catholic Church, which include Confession, Communion, and Extreme Unction. The word occurs in p. 19, where St. Patrick received *comum agus sacarbhaic* from Bishop Tassach before he departed this life. It occurs again in p. 47, where the scholar gave St. Brigid *comman agus sacarbhaic* when she was dying. Again, in p. 70, where St. Senan gave *sacarbhaic* to the two little boys, who died immediately. The same word occurs in p. 73, where Senan gives *sacarbhaic* to his aunt, on the sea-shore, and she dies straightway. How could Senan give sacrifice to anybody? And how could he say Mass immediately on the sea-shore? We have, in the Lives, frequent mention of prayers for the dead, releasing souls from pains in the next world, the intercession of saints; and yet the editor says that “little new light is thrown on the form of Christianity which existed in Ireland at that time!” It would have been better if

a portion of the time which was spent upon a long preface, a sort of grammar, and other curious researches, were employed upon modernising the text, correcting the spelling, and leaving disquisitions as to the celibacy of the clergy out of the book.

As to the value of the Lives themselves. They have very little value. The outlandish miracles which are recorded in them could be nothing else than the production of *seanachies*, which were first committed to writing by ignorant scribes, and afterwards copied by men of scant judgment. It is needless to say that they all lack the conditions which Catholic theologians require for a real miracle, and that none of them would pass the Congregation of Rites. The work shows great industry on the part of the editor. It is as complete, in its way, as a book can be, with regard to glossaries, indices, and the rest. The editor, however, forgets that there are two species of what he terms "loan-words." All the words which belong to the Sacraments and the Liturgy are, of course, from the Latin; but other words, which have a semblance to Latin, are from an older stem of the Aryan race of languages. That Gaelic, or the Celtic tongue, is much older than Latin or Greek is now generally admitted by philologists. Had the book been arranged, after the manner of O'Donovan's edition of the Four Masters, with the Irish and English on opposite pages, and the notes at the bottom, it would be much easier to read it, as well as to judge of its excellence.

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*L'Eglise et la Question Sociale.* Etude sur l'Encyclique, "De la Condition des Ouvriers." Par le R. P. G. DE PASCAL, Miss. Apostolique. Paris: Lethielleux. 1891. (1 franc.)

THE Père Pascal, who published some two years ago a *brochure* entitled "Le Pouvoir Sociale et l'Ordre Economique," has here printed the French official translation of the Encyclical on the Labour Question, and has prefixed a sort of commentary, or introduction, in which he treats various questions connected with that important Pontifical pronouncement. Père Pascal clearly belongs to the school of M. de Mun and the *Association Catholique*, and he has a legitimate subject of triumph in quoting the Holy Father's teaching as to the wage-minimum. Not a few French Catholic writers had expressed the opinion that the rate of wages was a matter of agreement between master and workman, and that when the wage agreed upon had been once paid, the master was not bound, in justice, to anything more; though he might be bound to something further by charity, just as any other man might be. The well-known passage in the Encyclical, in which the Pope declares that there is an obligation higher than that of any compact, and antecedent to all agreement, by which the workman has a right to what will keep him in frugal comfort, renders the former opinion now untenable. Père Pascal points out this very modestly, and, in doing so, quotes once more the letter of Cardinal Manning, addressed in April 1890 to the General Assembly of French Catholic Associations—a letter which seems to have struck public opinion in

France very forcibly. Père Pascal, treating first of the authority of the Encyclical, passes on to give an analysis of its contents, with notes on the various questions treated. These notes are brief, and the citations of contemporary writers short; for the author disclaims any intention of producing a commentary, in the proper sense of the word. In conclusion, he implores the French clergy and people not to attenuate or dilute the teachings of the Encyclical, but to unite in proving to the world that the Gospel of Christ can save humanity.

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*Lourdes : Histoire Médicale, 1858-1891.* Par le Docteur BOISSARIE  
Paris : Lecoffre. 1891. (3frs. 50c.)

THIS volume deals with Lourdes from a medical point of view, being intended in the first instance for physicians, though it contains nothing unsuitable for the general reader. It treats the subject under three aspects—the mental condition of Bernadette, the witness to the apparition; the cures alleged to take place at Lourdes; and the explanations suggested for them.

The author first undertakes to show that Bernadette was not the victim of insane hallucinations, or of hysterical ecstasy, as various medical men have supposed. He points out that the physicians who saw her at the time detected no sign of insanity about her, though one of them—Dr. Dozous—watched her very closely, and was himself an *incrédule*. There is even stronger medical proof that she has been of sound mind since; in reply to Dr. Voisin, an eminent authority, who asserted without any ground whatever that she was insane and confined in an asylum. Dr. Boissarie makes a very strong point in her favour by remarking that if Bernadette was insane or hysterical, she was so only on eighteen occasions; for the apparition has never been repeated at any of her subsequent visits to the Grotto, as we should certainly have anticipated had its cause been subjective. Nay, more, these eighteen visions were not on successive days, but were spread over two months, the girl seeing nothing on the other days, in spite of her expecting to do so.

An enormous number of cures are recorded, many with sufficient medical details, before and after recovery, to enable a medical man to form a clear idea of the cases described. I have carefully gone over them with a critical—I may say, a sceptical—eye, and about a dozen seem to me suspicious, either because they are not satisfactorily narrated, or because the symptoms might possibly be due to hypochondria or hysteria. But scores remain, which no medical science can account for in this or any other natural manner. Such are chronic diseases of the most various kinds—consumptive patients, whose physical signs as well as symptoms had been carefully recorded; bone diseases, in which deformity and abscesses had been described; cancerous and other tumours, often ulcerated; eye diseases, which had been examined with the ophthalmoscope; ununited fractures and old dislo-

cations. In the great majority of these instances we are furnished with the reports of the medical attendants and consultants, whose names and addresses are given. The only way that I can see to avoid admitting a supernatural intervention in such cases would be to impugn the veracity or competence of all these witnesses. This course has apparently been thought too desperate, for the difficulty has been evaded by passing over the alleged cures in silence, or ascribing them to the influence of the mind, by expectant attention, upon the body. I should be prepared to be very liberal in granting a large province to that influence, but I cannot believe that *sudden and complete* recovery from the diseases I have enumerated above is at all within its power. Hypnotism has more recently been suggested as an explanation, but Dr. Boissarie informs us—what is very interesting—that in no single instance has the hypnotic sleep been produced at Lourdes, and that cure of nervous conditions (which are specially amenable to this treatment) is decidedly rare.

The volume gives a favourable impression of Dr. Boissarie's honesty and medical knowledge. Its style is too vivacious for the taste of English readers, but it shares that quality with most modern French medical literature.

J. R. GASQUET.

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*De Historia Galliae, Publica, Privata, Litteraria, Regnante Ludovico XIV., Latinis versibus, a Jesuitis Gallis Scripta. Thesim Facultati Litterarum Parisiensi Proponebat P. V. DELAPORTE.*  
Paris: Retaux et Fils. 1891. (5 francs.)

**F**EW would expect under the above rather unpromising title an essay of so much charm and vivacity as the one offered to the public by Father Delaporte, S.J. In the age of Louis Quatorze Latin versification was cultivated by French scholars to an extent unsurpassed even in our public schools of half a century ago, and this nowhere so much as in Jesuit colleges. Abbé Vissac wrote with perfect truth: "Le P. Ménétrier a fait une '*Histoire du Règne de Louis XIV.*', par une simple collection de médailles gravées durant ce règne. Je crois qu'avec un choix de poésies latines on pourrait en faire une de tout le siècle, qui ne serait pas dépourvue d'intérêt!" And a seventeenth century poet tells us in his quaint French:

De ça saint Etienne du Mont,  
Dans le colège de Clermont,  
Belle maison Jésuitique,  
Où la Logique et la Phizique,  
*L'art de faire en latin des vers.* . . . .  
Sont enseignez à la Jeunesse.

And Dubos wrote: "On sait le bon mot de Bourbon, qu'il croyoit boire de l'eau quand il lisoit des vers français"—so much had the rage for Latin discredited the cultivation of the native language. Many a like testimony adorns the author's charming preface, which



closes with a useful catalogue of names of writers in the double French and Latinised form—such as Petavius and Pétau, Rueus and La Rue, Cossartius and Cossart, &c. The learned author then gives a graceful history of the period, interwoven with Latin verses by Jesuit versifiers—it would usually be too much to call them poets. The result is of course a good deal more quaint in the “*Historia Privata*” than in the rest of the work; a tobacco-pipe becomes “*fistula ad hauriendum tabachum*,” and an enamelled snuff-box is described as “*odorato redolens pulvere pyxis, vario picta colore*.” Cups of tea are “*Sinensis succo viridantia frondis pocula*,” while the following couplet on spectacles must bring our extracts to a close :

Lumina ficta . . . . naso gestanda repando  
Lucidulosque orbes ut cernere possit acutum.

The student as well as the lover of the curious will thank Father Delaporte for his erudite and unique little volume.

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*Un Convent de Religieuses Anglaises à Paris, de 1634 à 1884.* Par l'Abbé F. M. TH. CEDOZ. Paris : Victor Lecoffre. Londres : Burns et Oates.

**A**MONG the most beautiful records of sanctity and heroism during the centuries of persecution are assuredly the chronicles of the English communities of nuns established at Brussels, Antwerp, Louvain, and elsewhere on the Continent, most of which are now settled in England, as is the case with the communities at Abbotsleigh, East Bergholt, Chudleigh, Lanherne, &c. These chronicles have in part been published, but much, very much, we believe, remains yet to be done. Some of these communities have chosen to remain on the Continent. The Canonesses Regular of St. Augustine at Neuilly have at last found an author who has given their history to the world. We may as well say at once that, though grateful for what has been done, we are not satisfied. It has clearly been with the Abbé Cédóz a labour of love, and his work will please his French readers; but it is not what an English editor would have made it, and hence our disappointment, mingling with the pleasure we have felt in turning over these pages.

The Canonesses Regular of Paris, now stationed at Neuilly, are a filiation from Notre-Dame de Beaulieu. The foundation was made at Douai in 1624 by the first English Superior, Lady Letitia Mary Tredway, assisted by the Rev. Miles Pinkney, better known as Thomas Carre, and was transferred to Paris ten years later. Its list of about 180 choir-nuns, who have died in the convent since its foundation, contains the honoured names of our old Catholic families: Talbot, Dormer, Percy, Blount, Hornyold, Eyre, Waldegrave, Stourton, Lindsay, Howard, Petre, Meynell, Yates, Towneley, Lawson, Throckmorton, Englefield, Roper, Widdrington, Blundell, Fermor, Bishop, Stonor, Howell, Wray, Layburne, and many others; a roll-call of honour in a twofold sense, like the patrician houses of Christian Rome,

the Cæciliæ and Anicii and their compeers, in whom sanctity and nobility are so often blended. Their history resembles that of the other communities above mentioned, often struggling with poverty, their hearts torn by the sad lot of Catholics in the dear country from which they had made themselves exiles for Christ. None of the English communities were so nearly being guillotined at the Revolution. They were imprisoned at the Conciergerie, and only saved by the fall of Robespierre. At a later period they had a share in the horrors of the Commune. Our earnest hope is that the work of Abbé Cédoz may induce some one to publish the original chronicle of the English Canonesses of Neuilly. It was from this community that Cardinal Wiseman obtained for Ushaw College the ring of St. Cuthbert.

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*Théophile Foisset.* Par HENRY BOISSARD. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1891.

**T**HEOPHILE FOISSET, the life-long friend and biographer of Lacordaire, was one of those heroic Catholic laymen, who fought the battles of Catholic France from the days of the Restoration till those of the Vatican Council. More closely allied with the school of Dupanloup and Montalembert than with the other, which reckoned Louis Veuillot as its leader and the *Univers* as its organ, Foisset, like most of his fellow-writers in the *Correspondant*, was a true and loyal Catholic, long before divergences on political matters had rent French Catholics into two hostile parts, and he remained a devout Catholic till his death. In sincere devotion to the Holy See none excelled him. Full of enthusiasm at the Convocation of the Vatican Council, Foisset, although an anti-opportunist before the dogma of Infallibility was declared, became its vigorous champion the moment it was defined. His last days were occupied with a chivalrous defence of his departed friends, Lacordaire and Montalembert.

The author has accomplished his somewhat delicate task as became the subject, and has known how to bring forward the sterling value of Foisset and his friends without attacking the well-meant, but sometimes overbearing and irritating, tactics of his adversaries. His work is brimful of interest, and we have been much struck by the following quasi-prediction of the triple alliance made by a French writer in the *Correspondant*, November 25, 1860 :

La Confédération germanique, d'après les derniers recensements a 43,286,116 habitants ; les Allemands sont bons soldats, et si cette Confédération se change en un seul État centralisé, la France immédiatement descend au second rang. Si, a un moment donné, et qui pourrait bien arriver, l'Angleterre, l'Allemagne et l'Italie se réunissaient contre la France, notre pays pourrait être réduit aux dernières extrémités. La France n'aurait qu'une ressource alors, ce serait de former avec la Russie une alliance intime ; mais dans ce cas, il faudrait lui abandonner tout ce qu'on a voulu défendre contre elle par la guerre de Crimée.

It is worthy of note that Foisset always disliked the title of Liberal Catholic, adopted by his friends. We doubt if any book better than this biography could convey an idea of the two parties that sunder French Catholics, to their heavy loss.

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*Selected Sermons.* By REV. CHRISTOPHER HUGHES, Pastor of St. Mary's Church, Fall River, Mass. New York: F. Pustet.

THESE discourses are much above the average of published sermons, being doctrinal, vigorous in style, if a little inflated, and often very devotional. Political allusions are more frequent in them than would be thought quite edifying in England. But America is not England. Father Hughes writes: "Let no man call me an Irish-American. I repudiate the term. There is no such thing as an Irish-American. We are all Americans, pure and simple." Very good; he continues: "We are not an Anglo-Saxon race. To that race, we acknowledge that some of our citizens owe their origin, but these are in a small minority, and are out-numbered by those of German, French and Irish extraction as one to fifty." Is this correct? We doubt it.

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*St. Ignatius Loyola and the Early Jesuits.* By STEWART ROSE. London: Burns & Oates. 1891. (15s. net.)

IT is now twenty-one years since Mr. Stewart Rose gave to the public the first edition of this noble work. It came amongst us as a popular life of an (to Protestant England) unpopular Saint. It was harmoniously put together, attractively written, and it bore upon the face of it, such evidence of erudition and trustworthiness as bade fair to command the attention not only of the Catholic public, but even of minds tinged by the hereditary prejudices of the last three centuries. How favourable a reception the volume met with may be judged from the fact that within the short space of a year a second edition was called for.\*

It might have been expected that a work so carefully finished would have satisfied the author's devotion to his theme; but it was not so. During the past twenty years fresh light has been shed from several quarters on the life of the holy founder, as well as on the beginnings of his great foundation. The publication of his authentic letters began in 1874, and was only completed in 1889. A Commentary on the Origin of the Society of Jesus, by Simon Rodriguez, one of the six who took their vows with St. Ignatius, and the Memoirs of Father Manare, a second commentary, appeared in 1886. Finally, the year 1890, witnessed the publication of the illustrated and annotated

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\* Both these editions were reviewed on their appearance, in the DUBLIN REVIEW, in 1870, and in 1871.

"*Vie de S. Ignace*," by Père Clair. These scattered rays, Mr. Rose has been prompt to focus on his subject, and, as he tells us in the Preface to the volume now before us, the additions he has been enabled to make are such as to warrant him in giving it to the public as a "New Life."

The special value of these additions to the original work is that they cast so strong a light on that which it is as difficult as it is all-important for an author to illustrate—the interior of the man, and of the Saint. As Cardinal Newman expresses it: "What I want to trace and study is the real, hidden but human, life, or the *interior*, as it is called of such glorious creations of God; and this I gain with difficulty from mere biographies. . . . On the other hand, when a saint is himself the speaker, he interprets his own action. I want to hear a Saint converse; I am not content to look at him as a mere statue; his words are the index of his hidden life, as far as that life can be known to man, for 'out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.'" Now, though the earlier work of Mr. Rose is far from being one of those mere biographies to which Cardinal Newman is alluding—for, on the contrary, it is strongly marked by the features which he indicates as characterising a true "Life," yet, in the gleanings from the Saint's Letters and Instructions, which he has added to it, he has given us just precisely that which was most needful to perfect his work. He has enabled us to "hold converse with a grace-illumined soul looking out into this world of sense, and leavening it with itself." He has laid before us such unrestrained outpourings of heart to heart, as, whether for good or evil, are the unconscious, and therefore the truest, revelation of a man's inner self. What a revelation of the natural gratitude of our Saint to those who had so generously befriended him, what an ingenuous laying bare of those religious instincts which were buried deepest in his heart, have we in the following lines from a letter to Cazador, Archdeacon of Barcelona, written in the year 1536, just before he entered on his Apostolic work.

The wish you express, to see me occupied in preaching at Barcelona, certes I cherish in my heart. Not that I have the conceit that I can do what others cannot, nor that I can reach what they cannot attain; but merely to preach, as a simple individual, things intelligible, easy, and lowly. For I trust in God our Lord, that if I keep to what is lowly, He will give His grace that in some way, we may be of help in His praise and due service. For that reason, as soon as I have finished my studies—in a year from this Lent—I hope to stay to preach His word in no other place in the whole of Spain, till I come to you, as we both of us desire; for I think I am without doubt more obliged to the people of Barcelona than to any others on this earth. This, however, must be understood, *clare non errante* (so as not to err), provided God our Lord does not call me out of Spain to some work which will bring me less honour and more trouble. I cannot tell how this may be; what I do know is, that I shall always preach in poverty, but putting aside the solitudes and difficulties which now entangle me during my studies.

A second feature in the "New Life" is the addition of so many and

such excellent illustrations. These are not of a character merely to give greater attractiveness to the work, though it is undeniable that they add considerably thereto. They are in the truest sense of the word "illustrations," serving, as they do, to bring out into clearer relief the character of the Saint and his companions, to heighten the colouring of the historical narrative, and to lend depth and reality to the devotional impressions. They number more than a hundred, and their special charm lies partly in the fact that they are many of them designed with a view to reproducing, as far as possible, the surroundings of the story as they actually were in the days of the Saint, and partly also in their being accompanied by references to the authentic sources from which they are copied or constructed. See, for example, the wonderfully clever reproduction of Austin Friars, London, as it was in the days of St. Ignatius's visit, made by Mr. Brewer from data gleaned by him from old maps and other sources in the British Museum. This is only one, however, of several similar and equally clever and interesting ideal restorations. It were to be wished that Mr. H. C. Brewer, Mr. Wain, and especially Mr. H. W. Brewer, to whom we owe them, might be employed in other similar works. We are reminded by the author that our thanks are also due to Father Eyre, S.J., for assistance lent him in his task, and these we gladly offer. Perhaps we cannot better express our feelings towards the author himself than by expressing the hope that he may speedily devote his energy and talent to writing the life of another of God's chosen servants. The publication of this large and artistic volume must have involved a very large pecuniary outlay; we trust the enterprise of those who have undertaken the task may be abundantly repaid.

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*Dictionnaire de la Bible.* Publié par F. VIGOUROUX, prêtre de Saint-Sulpice, avec le Concours d'un grand nombre de Collaborateurs. Fascicule I. A—Aïnesse (Droit d'). Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 17 Rue du Vieux-Colombier. 1891. (5 francs.)

THIS is a great undertaking, on the right lines. The Abbé Vigouroux, well-known for his numerous writings in defence of Catholic teaching on the inspiration and integrity of the Holy Scriptures, has associated with himself a large number of the best scholars to be found among the clergy and the religious orders of France, and here begins a Dictionary of the Bible, which, he answers for it, shall be up to the level of modern critical and scientific demands, answering, explaining, or defending, so far as these illustrate or confirm, or challenge Catholic principles and tradition. It is to be throughout, the editors proclaim, a new work—not an improved or altered edition of either Dom Calmet, on the one hand, or of Smith's dictionary on the other, or of any of the numerous German biblical dictionaries. It will include the name, in the Vulgate orthography, of every person, place, plant, or animal mentioned in the Bible. There

will be exegetical articles on the various books of both Testaments, treating of their authorship, authenticity, plan, &c. There will also be brief, but (if we may judge from specimens in the fasciculus before us) sufficient biographical notices of the chief scriptural commentators of whatever nationality or period; and also articles dealing with the numerous theological, archæological, and scientific questions relative to the biblical text raised by modern criticism, and the work is to be abundantly illustrated. To which we need only add, that such articles as call for it are followed by a bibliography of the best works, including with the ancient some of the most recent of every country, for the benefit of students who would pursue their inquiries as to a special point—to show that the editors have an ambitious and highly creditable programme before them. Judging from the first instalment of the work—a quarto of 319 pages in double column—they have succeeded wonderfully well. The articles are in the best sense scientific, and also—as might be expected from expert French pens—they are, it seems to us, wonderfully clear in their statements, and written in an attractive manner. Considerations of space this quarter oblige us to be content with this mention of the work, adding only our warm recommendation of it. Any critical appreciation of it will be even easier when we have compared a second instalment of the work. For the present we do not hesitate to say that on the whole the quality of the chief articles seems to us surprisingly good, considering the condensation of matter imperative in a work of such wide aim. In spite of condensation, one article in the present fasciculus occupies some thirty columns—the article “Adam,”—which may be cited as a specimen of the thoroughness and good quality of those portions of the work which more nearly touch our modern research and science. The first portion of the article, from the pen of M. Palis, of Béziers, is headed: “Histoire d’Adam,” and deals more exclusively with the Scripture narrative, and such theological points as his supernatural state before the Fall. The second and larger portion, headed: “Le Premier Homme au point de vue scientifique,” answers three questions raised by our modern science: (1) Was the first man a being intermediate between the animal and the intellectual man now existing? (2) Was he a savage? (3) At what epoch did he appear? and deals with the paleontological and more general arguments of modern criticism against the traditional teaching as to the first of our race. It is from the pen of the Chanoine P. Hamard, whose name is a guarantee of scientific competency. Just in passing, and as indicative that the writers are “up to date” as well as cosmopolitan in their references, we may note a brief biographical article on Adam of Barking, an English Benedictine of celebrity in the thirteenth century as a preacher and commentator. The bibliographical reference in this article is to Mr. Leslie Stephen’s “Dictionary of National Biography.” We believe this Dictionary of the Bible will be complete in some fifteen parts, the present price of five francs each part (post free) is only for subscribers to the complete work. We congratulate the Abbé Vigouroux on his happy inspiration and courage, and trust that the



encouragement which he and the publishers will receive will help to hasten the completion of their undertaking.

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*Pontificale Romanum.* Editio prima post Typicam. Ratisbonæ, &c.: Sumptibus, chartis et typis Friderici Pustet. 1891. (4 marks 80.)

*De Insignibus Episcoporum Commentaria.* Auctore P. J. RINALDI-BUCCI. Ratisbonæ: Sumptibus, &c., Friderici Pustet.

THE beautiful copy of the "Pontificale" sent us by Messrs. Pustet will be acceptable to all who want a legible, handy, and handsome edition of that important manual, at a reasonable price. The musical notes are not given in this reprint, and the type is smaller than that of the sumptuous (octavo) "typical" edition, noticed by us some time ago; but the type is not really small; and the same artistic vignettes and head-pieces are used. A long Appendix not usually found in copies of the Pontifical, gives the Pontifical rite for Baptism, the forms of Orders and Confirmation when there is only one candidate, the consecration of a church when several altars are to be consecrated; the consecration of portable altars, &c.

Monsignor Rinaldi-Bucci's short but learned commentary on the insignia of Bishops, begins with the sandals and finishes with the mitre and pastoral staff; or rather, with the Pallium; for, as he says, the Pallium is so essential to the archiepiscopate that an archbishop has no right to the name until he has received it. The numerous citations and references to authorities will be useful to all who wish to study the antiquity and significance of the various "ornaments" which are peculiar to the episcopal order.

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*Life of the Curé d'Ars.* From the French of the Abbé ALFRED MONNIN. With a Preface by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Popular edition. London: Burns & Oates; New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1891. (2s. 6d.)

THIS edition of the Life of the holy curé is too well known to need either description or recommendation. It is now brought out at a more popular price than previously, and is still printed on strong paper and well bound. This effort to widen the sale of an eminently good book deserves encouragement.

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*A Letter of his Lordship the Bishop of Grenoble, Treating of the Divine Institution of the Papacy.* Translated by Dom C. O'NEILL, O.S.B. London: R. Washbourne.

BESIDES what it has to say on its direct subject, this admirable letter announces the formation of the Society of Servants of St. Peter, with the approval of the Holy Father, having its headquarters at Grenoble, and the Bishop of Grenoble for its President. Most truly does its author say of our times: "Never before has the road to Rome been so thronged with crowds of pilgrims, journeying to the Pastor of our souls."

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*History of the Jews*, from the earliest times to the present day. By PROFESSOR H. GRAETZ. Edited by BELLA LÖWY. London: David Nutt. 1891. Vols. I. and II. (10s. 6d. each.)

WE have here two volumes of Professor Heinrich Graetz's "History of the Jews." We are told in the preface that the publication (it will run to five volumes) is not a mere excerpt from the writer's "Geschichte der Juden," but a condensed reproduction of the entire eleven volumes of that work. Graetz, whose death at the age of seventy-four, is announced at the time these lines are being written, began to turn his attention to the history and literature of the Jews, as far back as 1846, when his first essay on the construction of Jewish history appeared. The "Geschichte der Juden" was begun in 1852, and finished in 1876. The Biblical part of the history, which ought by right to have appeared first, was really published last of all, the author, as he tells us, having resolved not to compose it until he had made a personal visit to Palestine. What Graetz's religious opinions were, we are unable to state: but the history is written from the point of view of one who utterly disbelieves in the miraculous. It is not clear that the Professor would have admitted as much. He says, in the preface to the present translation, that the continuance of the Jewish race until the present day is a "marvel not to be overlooked, even by those who deny the existence of miracles" (p. vi.) This is, at best, ambiguous, and so are his rhetorical amplifications about the revelations made to Moses and the prophets of Israel. But the picturesque Biblical narrative is watered down to the prose of a newspaper correspondent. An east wind divides the waters of the Red Sea; a flash of lightning sets fire to the sacrifice on Carmel; the thick cloud which filled the Temple at its consecration was considered a token of God's mercy; and in most instances the words and phrases which indicate the interference of heaven are simply left out. Even in narratives which are difficult to spoil in any version, the effect is not unfrequently lost; as when "Tu es ille vir" is rendered "Thou art that rich man!" (i. 136).

When the author reaches the Christian era, he never loses an opportunity of depreciating the Catholic Church. The account of the

attempt to rebuild the Temple under Julian the Apostate may serve as a specimen of his "method." "Meanwhile the Christians looked with envious eyes upon the commencement of the work. . . . On the occasion of the pulling down of the ruins, and the excavation of the foundations, a fire broke out, by which several workmen lost their lives. This subterranean conflagration doubtless occurred in the passages which had formerly existed beneath the Temple, and had its origin in the gases which had been long compressed there" (ii. 607). The History of the Jews has been successful, and is more or less popular. The translation reads stiffly, but is by no means bad. It is undeniable that much can be learnt from a narrative which seems to take in every necessary element except the supernatural. But Graetz is too "advanced" and too "independent," we should say, even for Protestants, and to any one who believes that the history of the chosen people was a preparation for the Incarnation and a continuous revelation of the love and the teaching of God, these volumes, scholarly as they are, can never be pleasant reading, and will at most be used for reference.

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*Dictionnaire Général de la Langue Française du commencement du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'à nos jours.* Par MM. ADOLPHE HATZFELD et ARSÈNE DARMESTETER, avec le concours de M. ANTOINE THOMAS. Paris: Delagrave, 15 Rue Soufflot.

THIS dictionary, of which we have received the first three *fascicules*, is to be completed in about thirty parts, costing each one franc, and, judging from the portion of the work before us, we have no hesitation in saying that it will form a wonderfully cheap standard dictionary of the French language fully up to the requirements of modern linguistic science. The book has been many years in preparation, and its editors are men of world-wide reputation, of whose competence for the gigantic task they have undertaken there cannot be a moment's doubt. The introduction contains an elaborate treatise on the formation of the language, in which the latest results of philological research are set forth in a popular style. The body of the dictionary gives the accepted pronunciation of each word, its etymology, its successive forms, and its various meanings at each period of its history, with illustrative passages from the best writers. In a word, it gives in a smaller compass, and with a closer attention to modern rather than mediæval French, the same careful studies of every word of the language that are to be found in the much larger work of Littré. Finally, a matter of no slight importance in a work of reference, it is clearly and artistically printed. College librarians will do well to add the book to their stock of modern dictionaries.

*The Life of Christopher Columbus.* By FRANCESCO TARDUCCI, after the latest documents. Translated from the Italian by HENRY F. BROWNSON. 2 volumes. Detroit: H. F. Brownson. 1890.

WASHINGTON IRVING'S "Life of Columbus" has long been the standard popular biography of the discoverer for English readers, and such is the great charm of its style that it is not likely to be displaced from this position. But, since Irving wrote his delightful narrative, historical research has not stood still, and much has been learned which modifies, not the general view taken of Columbus by his biographer, but the accepted opinion as to various details and episodes of his career. Nothing that has "sprung to light" in these researches will in any way darken the fame of the great Catholic explorer, whose story is the link between the mediæval and the modern world. That story is told in a clear, unpretentious style in Tarducci's volumes, in which the latest results of recent research and criticism are summed up. The author is one of the most eminent of the modern school of scientific historians in Italy. His national pride in the career of the "world-seeking Genoese" attracted him years ago to the enterprise of writing a life of Columbus that should gather together all the available evidence on his voyages and discoveries, and he has performed his task in a way that has won for him the applause of the most competent critics. Mr. Brownson's English version of the Italian original appears very appropriately at a time when America is preparing to celebrate the centenary of the first voyage across the Atlantic. For those who value a work rather for its accuracy and completeness as a history than for its purely literary merits, Tarducci's "Life of Columbus" will supersede all others, not that it is in any sense without high merit even from the point of view of literary style. The English version is illustrated with photographic reproductions of a series of portraits and historical pictures executed by an Italian artist for the University of Notre Dame, Indiana. These are very interesting, but it would have been well if a few maps had been added. We shall perhaps be able to give the work a more adequate review in a future number.

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*Theodoric the Goth, the Barbarian Champion of Civilisation.* By THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L. London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1891. ("Heroes of the Nations Series.") (5s.)

THOSE who know Dr. Hodgkin's work on "Italy and her Invaders" will not need to be told that this study of Theodoric is no dull narrative of a dead past, but a striking picture, which makes the men of the fifth and sixth centuries live again before us. The book is more than its title indicates, for, in tracing the causes and events that shaped the world in which Theodoric lived his adventurous life, Dr. Hodgkin really sketches in bold outline no small portion of the transition period when the wandering nations made a new Europe out of the wreck of

the Empire of the West. He lays much stress upon what might have been if Theodoric had been spared to accomplish all that he had projected in the way of building up a Gothic kingdom of Italy, and preserving in it the splendours of the old civilisation of Rome. Such speculations are of little value. What *was* helps us better to understand what is and what will be, far more than the keenest arguments as to what *might have been* had the stream of events been checked or diverted into another channel at this point or at that. In his admiration for his hero, we fear that Dr. Hodgkin is inclined to lay too little stress on the weaker and darker points of his career, and we can see no evidence for the conjecture which he hazards, that his sudden death at the moment when he began his persecution of the Catholics was the result of poison. He admits that the king was already in all probability insane. The breakdown of Theodoric's nerves and brain may very well have been the natural prelude to a death, which only appeared sudden because the men of that time had not learned that mental decay is often only a symptom of physical collapse.

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*The Blind Apostle and a Heroine of Charity; being the Third Series of the "Bells of the Sanctuary."* By KATHLEEN O'MEARA. London: Burns & Oates. (4s. 6d.)

THESE two beautiful biographies of Mgr. de Ségur and Madame Legras, are, in the words of our Cardinal Archbishop, "the last bequest of the cultivated and pious intelligence" of Miss Kathleen O'Meara. She died suddenly, in 1888. Mgr. de Ségur, whose saintly career ended only ten years ago, is one of the many modern heroes whose lives shine out with the radiance of sanctity, as if to assure us that the age of a Vianney, a Muard, a Don Bosco, or a Gaston de Ségur, can vie with any that have gone before it in fruits of holiness. The foundress of the Sisters of Charity has gone to her reward upwards of two centuries since, yet lives among us in those heroic women "whose convent is the house of the sick; their cell, a hired room; their chapel, the parish church; their cloister, the streets of the city, or the wards of the hospital; their enclosure, obedience; their grating, the fear of God; their veil, holy modesty."

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*Kant's Principles of Politics, including his Essay on Perpetual Peace.*  
 Edited and Translated by W. HASTIE, B.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1891.

MR. HASTIE'S translations of German works on jurisprudence and politics have often been praised in this REVIEW. The present volume is quite worthy of its predecessors. As usual, the translator has prefixed a valuable introduction, which will help the reader to understand Kant's philosophical position generally, as well as in

politics. This introduction would be far more valuable if it were cut down to half its length by the omission, not of any matter, but of the tiresome verbiage which encumbers Mr. Hastie's style.

T. B. S.

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*Napoléon et Alexandre I. L'alliance Russe sous le premier empire. I. De Tilsit à Erfurt.* Par ALBERT VANDAL. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1891.

THE enthusiastic welcome given to the French fleet at Cronstadt has revealed to the world how cordial is the alliance between despotic Russia and republican France. The friendship between these Powers is not, however, of long standing. Within the present century each has dealt the other an almost fatal blow. And if we go back into the more distant past, we find that, although the civilisation, such as it is, of Russia is mainly French, yet the two Governments were almost always in conflict. The traditional policy of the Bourbons was to humble Austria. Hence it was their aim to keep Turkey strong, and encourage her in her encroachments on the territory of the house of Hapsburg. Another object of French diplomacy was to secure preponderance in the Mediterranean. When, therefore, the recently established Slavonic empire began to have designs upon Constantinople, the hostility of France was at once provoked. Another element of discord between the two countries was the dismemberment of Poland, which had, like Turkey, been a useful ally to check the power of Austria. The Revolution did not, at first, make any change in the relations between the two great opponents. Over and over again Bonaparte had to contend against combined Austrian and Russian armies. He gave fresh life to Poland, and strove to awaken Turkey from her prolonged lethargy. But as one after another of the kingdoms and empires sank under his attacks—Austria in 1805 at Austerlitz, Prussia in 1806 at Jena, and Russia in 1807 at Friedland—he was forced, by fear of a coalition against himself, to pick out as a friend some one of his many vanquished foes. Of all these Russia had made the most stubborn resistance, and was still by far the strongest; her geographical position prevented her from having any interests conflicting with those of France, and gave her the opportunity of controlling both Prussia and Austria. The fiercely contested battles of Eylau and Friedland convinced both the combatants that they were wasting their life-blood, while their common enemies were looking on with satisfaction, and waiting to pounce on them as soon as they should be exhausted. Accordingly, the Emperor Alexander proposed that he and Napoleon should hold a personal interview for the purpose of coming to terms. The meeting took place on the historic raft moored in the middle of the river Niemen. The two sovereigns embraced cordially. Almost the first words that Alexander uttered were: "Sire, I hate England as much as you do." "Then," said Napoleon, "peace is already made between us."



It would seem, then, that although the two Napoleons are associated with memories of Moscow and Sebastopol, the Franco-Russian alliance is a Napoleonic idea. The ancient ties of friendship with Poland and Turkey have in the past made France a vacillating member of the alliance. Now that the resurrection of Poland is hopeless; now that England, the traditional foe of both parties, has undertaken the protection of Turkey, and turned the Mediterranean into an English lake; now that France is on the brink of a life-struggle with Germany—we may believe that the alliance will be more cordial, and will be a lasting one. The Portsmouth reception could not undo the effect of Cronstadt. The two magnificent three-deckers—the *Victory* and the *Duke of Wellington*—lying at anchor in the English harbour, must have stirred in the French visitors memories as bitter as those of Metz and Sedan.

M. Vandal's book has come out most opportunely. The Franco-Russian alliance is in every one's mouth. Every thoughtful politician will be glad to read about the origin of the brief friendship between the two Powers, and the memorable struggle—glorious to the one, disastrous to the other—in which it terminated. The story is in itself of much interest; but as told by M. Vandal it is most absorbing. He is indeed an admirable historian, uniting, as he does, the patient investigation of the German with the clearness and charm for which his own countrymen are so justly famous. It will be found, too, that he is impartial, a quality not always found in French writers. No doubt he is anxious to soothe Russian susceptibilities and to point out the errors of the great Napoleon, and so to cement the good understanding he believes to be the hope of security to both France and Russia.

T. B. S.

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1. *Mémoires et Souvenirs du Baron HYDE DE NEUVILLE. II. La Restauration; Les Cent Jours; Louis XVIII.* Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1890. (7 francs 50 each.)
  2. *Mémoires du duc DES CARS. Publiés par son neveu, avec une introduction et des notes par le comte HENRI DE L'ÉPINOIS.* Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1890. Two vols. (15 francs.)
  3. *Mémoires politiques et militaires du général TERCIER (1770-1816). Publiés avec préface, notes, et pièces justificatives par C. DE LA CHANONIE.* Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1891. (7 francs 50.)
  4. *Mémoires du général Baron DE MARBOT. I. Gênes, Austerlitz, Eylau. II. Madrid, Essling, Torrès Vedras.* Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1891. (7 francs 50 each.)

IT is difficult to keep pace with the admirable series of memoirs now in course of publication by the well-known firm of Plon, Nourrit et Cie. All the volumes are well got up, and in most cases are adorned with excellent portraits in helio-gravure. The present batch does not contain the story of any prominent historical personage,

but, as we shall presently see, the writers were in close communication with such characters, and have much that is interesting to tell us about them.

1. M. de Neuville's second volume is not equal to the volume already noticed in this REVIEW. His courage during the bloodiest days of the Terror, and his noble independence in the height of Bonaparte's power had something heroic about them. But his loyalty to Louis XVIII., praiseworthy though it was, does not excite in us the same feelings as his devotion to Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette. The whole story of the Restoration is a melancholy one, even as told by this Bourbon partisan. From the day when the emigration began the Royalists were in a false position. Their only hope of return was the ruin of France. They could claim no share in the glorious victories won by their fellow-countrymen; their day of triumph was the day of their country's humiliation. A dynasty so restored was doomed to speedy downfall. Had the counsels of moderate men like de Neuville been followed, some sort of stability might in time have been acquired. But most of the Royalists had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. Hence it was easy to see from the very beginning that the Bourbons would soon be in exile once more.

2. The Duc des Cars was intended for the priesthood, like so many of the younger sons of his day, but unlike most of them he refused to take orders, knowing that he had no vocation. He served in the navy for a short time, and was afterwards appointed to the command of a regiment of dragoons. The theory and practice of cavalry manœuvres had a strong attraction for him. Not satisfied with what he could learn at home he obtained permission to study tactics at Berlin. He went carefully over all the battle-fields of the Seven Years' War, and made himself master of the reforms introduced by the great Frederick. We are not surprised to find that on his return to France his squadron became the admiration of the whole army. One of his troopers was afterwards known to the world as Marshal Augereau, Duke of Castiglione. Unhappily, his own services were lost to his country by reason of his being an émigré. On the whole, the story of his life is one more proof that the old *régime*, even in its last days, could produce noblemen of ability and courage.

3. The next book on our list is the life of another brave man who sacrificed himself for the Royalist cause. Tercier greatly distinguished himself in the West Indies during the War of Independence. In reading his account of the naval battles between the English and French one can see that Rodney had a far tougher foe to fight than Nelson afterwards had. The Revolution utterly disorganised the French navy. Most of the officers were driven away as Royalists; no care was taken to train up others to fill their places; Brittany, the home of hardy seamen, was at war with the Republic. Under Louis XVI. the navy was in a high state of efficiency, and rendered good account of itself both in the East and the West Indies. Whilst at La Martinique, Tercier became very intimate with Mdlle. Tascher de la Pagerie. If the young people had been allowed to have their

way, he would doubtless have married her. But she was destined to play a higher, if not a happier, part in the world. History knows her as the Empress Josephine, wife of Napoleon I. Tercier took a vigorous part in the attempt to restore the Bourbons. He fought at Quiberon in La Vendee, and in Normandy. At length he became involved in George Cadoudal's plot to carry off Bonaparte and was taken prisoner. After a time he was released and permitted to live at Amiens under police surveillance. At the Restoration he received little reward from the Sovereign for whom he had done and suffered so much. Yet to the end, he fiercely denounces Napoleon, whom he does not hesitate to call a *fou couronné*.

4. Marbot's memoirs deal with a later period than the foregoing volumes. He was a mere child when the Revolution broke out. This fact, I think, adds considerably to the interest of what he writes. One often wonders how children grew up amid the awful scenes of the Terror and what sort of education they could have received. The reader will find some explanation of the mystery by referring to Marbot's account of the way in which the Benedictine College at Sorèze was carried on so as to survive the storm. One of the monks became the proprietor of the establishment; lay-dress was worn; the title "citizen" replaced that of "dom"; the word "monsieur" was strictly forbidden; the "Marseillais" was sung on entering the refectory, and so on. The result of this training was to give young Marbot a hatred of democracy which lasted till the end of his life. He became a devoted follower of Napoleon, serving in every campaign from 1799 to 1815. In the volumes already given to the public he takes us only as far as the opening years of the Peninsular War, but as they contain admirable accounts of Austerlitz, Eylau, and Friedland, from an aide-de-camp's point of view, they are not likely to be surpassed in interest by those which are to follow. The English reader will note especially the frankness with which he speaks of the mismanagement on the French side during the early years of the Peninsular War, and his generous admiration for the courage and ability of the British soldier.

T. B. S.

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*Imperial Germany: a Critical Study of Fact and Character.* By SIDNEY WHITMAN. London: William Heinemann. 1891.

A POPULAR edition of a remarkable book on the Germany that has been made in our own time by Bismarck and Moltke, written by an admirer of the men and of their work. If the author's standpoint is borne in mind, so as to be ready where necessary to discount some of his eulogies of things Bismarckian, the book may be read with advantage. Prince Bismarck himself has written: "I consider the different chapters of this book masterly," and such a recommendation proves that however much one may differ from some of the author's conclusions, the book is not one that can be left out of account by those who wish to understand the current political thought

of the day. One of Mr. Sidney Whitman's mistakes—a mistake due, no doubt, to his Bismarckian sympathies—is, that he represents the Centre party as having an “almost anti-national” object for its policy. Whatever the friends of the ex-Chancellor of the German Empire may say, the German Emperor himself has given good proof that he holds no such opinion of his Catholic subjects and their leaders. It is satisfactory to note that whatever Mr. Whitman may think of the policy of the Centre, he fully recognises its power.

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*Papes et Tsars (1547–1597) d'apres des documents nouveaux.* Par le P. PIERLING, S.J. Paris: Retaux Bray. 1890.

THIS is a remarkable book, dealing with events of the highest importance in a critical period of the history of Europe. Rome, Poland, Moscow, and Stamboul were the four points of the compass towards which the eyes of the politicians and statesmen on the Continent were turned at the eventful time it covers. Islamism was hacking to pieces the old Christian civilisation which had once flourished in the East, and would be stronger to resist had it not been deprived of the genuine Catholic sap which vitalised its beginning. The barbarians were at the gates, and the Popes were, in principle and in fact, the Peter the Hermits of the new anti-Islamic crusade of the sixteenth century. Around them rallied the best Christian chivalry of the time. Venice, Spain, and Italy joined hands, under the Pope, and Lepanto was the result. Politically and ecclesiastically, the position of the Tsars was of the highest importance. The Russian Church, the child of Photius and Cerularius, was schismatic, and therefore outside the pale. Its sword was not at the disposal of Christian Europe to repel the invasion of Oriental barbarism that drove such terror into the soul of the West. Still worse, Russia and Poland were embroiled. Poland—Catholic, chivalrous, and brave—had her soldiers watching and defeating the armies of the Tsars in the disputed territory of Livonia. Thus Poland was paralysed. The cause of Christian civilisation suffered—Germany apostatising, England making a new religion in her Commons and Lords, and hanging the clergy; France apathetic and quarrelsome; the Hapsburgs embarrassed—never was the Church confronted with so many difficulties at the same time.

Then commenced that series of diplomatic moves between Rome and Moscow which are fully described in this book. As far as we know it is the author's tenth volume dealing with various points of contact between Russia and Western Europe. Mission after mission went from the Vatican to the Kremlin, to attempt a reconciliation between the two great Powers of the day. Between 1561 and 1572 Canobio, Giraldi, and Portico were sent out, and came to grief without effecting anything beyond getting into trouble with the King of Poland. Still later, Gregory XIII. attempted a mission to Moscow, through the King of Poland Bathory, and from his own side Tsar Ivan IV. sent a

mission to Rome, to Gregory XIII. Chévrignone was the Russian Envoy. Then Father Possevino, S.J., comes to the front, and his mission to Moscow is the subject-matter of a very interesting work by Father Pierling—"Antonii Possevini Missio Muscovitica." Then we have an account of another Russian mission to Rome, and the impression the Scythians made at Rome and elsewhere; and later on Clement VIII. sends Alexander Komulovic to Moscow, where he had many tribulations, and amongst them "un accueil glacial au Kremlin." This closes the historic matter.

Father Pierling's book reads like the pages of an interesting novel. Freely written, it unfolds all the tortuosities of Russian diplomacy and Roman resources to meet them. Father Possevino was an *Italiano finissimo*, and exhibited remarkable tact, skill, and adroitness, in the midst of a most complicated and tangled situation. The negotiations always failed; and, we think, for obvious reasons. The Pope wanted—and, of course, rightly, too—to turn the political situation to religious account. Hence he approached Ivan and his successors in their difficulties, to smoothe the way for a religious reconciliation with Rome. The Tsar began at the other end, and made the religious question simply a stepping-stone to such advantage as to get the Pope to wring good terms for him out of the Catholic Poles. The Pope wanted to make capital out of politics, and the Tsar out of religion. The Tsar, we think, understood the Popes much better than the Popes understood the Tsar. We fail to find in this book even the shadow of an indication that any *rapprochement* on the lines of the Council of Florence was ever dreamed of in Russia.

As a record of the diplomacy of the Roman curia, and of the Russian Tsars, this book is of high interest. All the documents have been searched by the learned writer for the first time. It makes one hungry to hear of bundles of documents tied up with string in Rome, labelled according to the contents, hidden from the world of readers and historians, who, be it confessed, are somewhat slow in taking advantage of the open libraries of the Eternal City. Father Pierling renders signal service by his researches, and in his narrative of the moves and counter-moves of diplomats and courtiers, he frankly tells the truth, giving his book transcendent value. Ecclesiastical polity (not being guarded by Infallibility) may be uncertain, or wavering, or even imprudent: and yet this volume, as far as we see, gives no case in point, for it is an honest record of a great effort, on the only possible lines, to recall a wandering nation to the comity of Christian nations, which was palpably the office of the Supreme Shepherd—an office at once congenial to the Vicar of Christ, and essential to the nations of Europe that suffered in consequence of its failure. The volume may be recommended, not only to the student and statesman, as a guide to the relations which a friendly alliance with the Holy See would foster, but also to all admirers of a flowing French style. At a time when Father Tondini's labours attract so much notice from Catholics, we are safe in saying that this remarkable book will find a large number of readers.

*Education and the Higher Life.* By J. L. SPALDING, Bishop of Peoria. Chicago: McClurg and Co. 1890.

THIS is, in every sense, a delightful book. The writer, a man of very refined and cultured mind, gives us his ideas on true education and the elevated noble life to which it naturally leads. The book consists of eight chapters: I. Ideas; II., Exercise of Mind; III. the Love of Excellence; IV. Culture and the Spirit of the Age; V. Self-Culture; VI. Growth and Duty; VII. Right Human Life; VIII. University Education. These subjects are treated in a very sensible, healthy tone, but also with a beauty of language which quite fascinates. We do not remember having had for a long time a greater literary treat than the reading of this thoughtful and eloquent little work, and cordially recommend it. The younger generation, girls no less than boys, would benefit by the reading of it.

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*Short Sermons on the Gospels* for every day in the year. By REV. N. M. REDMOND. New York and Cincinnati: Pustet and Co. 1890.

THE sermons in this volume are simple, plain and practical; short, and for the most part written in good forcible English. Occasionally an exposition of doctrine is not so precise as it might be, as, for example, at page 124, where the author, speaking of the Holy Trinity, says: "But the manner of (its) existence we cannot know, because it is beyond our comprehension, and therefore it is no object of our belief:" which seems to make its incomprehensibility to us, the reason why it could not be an object of our belief—which the author of course did not intend. We comprehend none of the mysteries of our faith. Father Redmond's volume of short sermons will, however, prove to be very useful.

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*Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica.* Essays Chiefly in Biblical and Patristic Criticism by Members of the University of Oxford. Vol. III. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1891.

THIS volume of essays is not inferior in learning to those that have preceded; the subjects are, however, more special ones, and of less interest to the general reader. Mr. Neubauer puts forward a theory as to the introduction of the present Hebrew characters in place of the Archaic ones. He supports on the whole the Rabbinical tradition that a new form of writing was introduced after the exile by Esdras, adding, however, that this and the older character were probably used indifferently until the Maccabean wars.

Dr. Gwilliam deals with the materials available for the criticism of the Peshitto New Testament. By a minute analysis of a short passage of St. Matthew's Gospel as it is found in twenty codices, he is led to the conclusion that the present Peshitto text presents hardly any traces of successive revisions, while the text of Cureton's MS. is so



divergent that comparison is impracticable, and its relation to the Peshitto cannot be so discovered. Dr. Sanday writes upon the list in the well-known Cheltenham MS. of the works of St. Cyprian, and of the Canonical books of the Old and New Testament. In dealing with this part of his subject he is led to consider that very interesting question, the order of the Canonical Books. This must date from the time when the Biblical texts were transferred from rolls (mostly papyri) to codices (mostly vellum); the roll held only a single book, and its position, relatively to others in the case, was accidental, while the binding together of the sheets in a codex fixed their order. This transference must have taken place during the third century, although there must have been previously to some extent a fixed order of the books of the Old Testament. The most interesting point in the order of the New Testament books is the apparent attempt to group together the Epistles of St. John with the Apocalypse, and so to form an "Instrumentum Joannis," such as Tertullian refers to.

The longest and most elaborate article in the volume is by Mr. Rackham, on the text of the Canons of Ancyra, based upon a minute collation of the Greek MSS., and their comparison with the Latin, Syriac and Armenian versions. This essay promises to be of considerable use in determining the lines on which the text of the early Conciliar Canons should be reconstituted.

The volume is illustrated by facsimiles, and must require a somewhat extensive circulation to defray the cost of publishing. We regret to learn that there is some fear, if such support from the public is not forthcoming, that this valuable series may be discontinued.

*An Introduction to Cudworth's "Treatises Concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality,"* with Life of Cudworth and a few Critical Notes. By W. R. SCOTT, T.C.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

THE title of this little volume sufficiently describes its contents. Mr. Scott hopes that it may receive enough attention to encourage him in publishing the Treatise itself. We hope it may prove so; but much fear that the work of the Cambridge Platonist is too much opposed to the *Zeitgeist* to receive any great share of attention.

*Russia.* By W. R. MORFILL, M.A. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1891.

THIS is the twenty-third volume of "The Story of the Nations" series. The writer of the "History of Russia" has one advantage to begin with, very few of the reading public have ever read anything about Russia, fewer still ever met with such English works as Tooke or Ralston, fewest of all ever dipped into Rambaud (or its English

equivalent), Levesque, or Leclerc; while we may write down the British reading public of such Russian works as Ustrialov's history, or à *fortiori* of Sergius Soloviev's colossal twenty-seven volumes of Russian history as practically *nil*. Russia has been for generations a sealed book, and it has practically remained for our day to develop a keen interest in her institutions, social and economic, and to read her novels and find them fresher than the well-worn plots of Western Europe. The history of such an Empire which begins with a town and a scrap of territory, and gradually grows in all directions and subjugates so many and so various races, and stretches its mighty arms from Riga to Vladivostock beyond Manchuria, and from the Gates of Herat to Novaia Zemlia, which joins hands with North America on one side, and crowds up against the German frontier on the other—covering eight and a half million square miles of territory and embracing about one hundred million inhabitants, must be the subject of an interesting narrative, which lands us on new ground and unfolds to us a wondrous tale of Russian history, from the time of the Seythian barbarians of classic days down to the Nihilists of our own.

The reading of Russian history is not easy at any time, but we confess that the difficulty is considerably augmented by the manner in which it is written in Professor Morfill's book. Not that the writer does not put a great deal of history into his 366 pages, and writes in a fairly unbiased manner; but his narrative does not advance smoothly. To be constantly meeting such phrases as "to be described in its proper place," "to be narrated in its proper place," "see the subsequent chapter," "of whom more anon," "we shall have something to say in a subsequent chapter," "something will be said later on," "of whom we shall shortly hear more," injures the style and gives the idea that he knew how to gather together his materials much better than to arrange them. Indeed, a want of method seems to be the great defect of the book. Paragraphs and disjointed scraps—all containing valuable information—do not make a readable book. The clergy get one page to themselves in a chapter dealing with the Russians from the social point of view, while less important institutions are more fully described. Those, however, whose knowledge of Russia is limited, may gather much from this book; but to understand many Russian institutions, social and ecclesiastical, recourse should be had to other works. The "get-up" of this instalment of the "Story of the Nations" series is good, the maps are good, the engravings interesting and the index copious.

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*William Wordsworth.* By ELIZABETH WORDSWORTH, Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. London: Percival & Co. 1891.

**T**HIS is a scholarly and thoughtful study of a poet, whose works will always appeal to those who prefer the solid gold of poetry to mere surface glitter. It is a really useful introduction to Wordsworth's writings, and the student will find the carefully prepared chronology

of the poems, and the short bibliography in the appendix, particularly helpful.

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*A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and to Philemon.* By JOSEPH AGAR BEET. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1890.

THE Epistles grouped together in this volume by Mr. Agar Beet contain two of the most fiercely contested of the writings of the Apostle Paul. It will be understood that we refer to the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians, concerning the authority of both of which it is the fashion among hostile critics to raise grave and serious doubts. Mr. Agar Beet, however, we are glad to see, is an earnest defender of the authenticity of all four Epistles, which he considers to have been written within a short time of one another, whilst the Apostle was undergoing his first imprisonment in Rome. It is true he does not bring forward much that is original in support of his view, but he states his case clearly and forcibly, and successfully disposes of the arguments usually advanced against the genuineness of these Epistles. In reference to the great resemblance between the Epistles to the Colossians and to the Ephesians, Mr. Agar Beet considers that the intrinsic worth and power of both Epistles is a conclusive argument against either of them being the work of a mere plagiarist. Speaking of the Epistle to the Ephesians, he says: "We cannot conceive a man capable of the profound thought which breathes throughout this Epistle becoming so servile an imitator even of an apostle."

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*The Book of Isaiah.* By GEORGE ADAM SMITH, M.A. ("The Expositor's Bible.") London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1890.

IN this volume we have the continuation of Mr. Adam Smith's work on the Prophecy of Isaiah, the first part of which appeared in 1888. Not unnaturally, Mr. Smith elected to divide the prophecy at the end of the thirty-ninth chapter,—at which point there is a decided change in the mode of treatment of his subject by the prophet; a change made necessary by the altered character of the subject. Unfortunately, the author holds that there is very little connection between the first and second parts of the prophecy; that, in fact, the last twenty-six chapters, roughly speaking, are not from the pen of the prophet Isaiah. Perhaps we shall best give an idea of the author's views by quoting the words in which he sums up the argument on the subject.

"We have seen that there is no evidence in the Book of Isaiah to prove that it was all by himself, but much testimony which points to a plurality of authors; that chapters xl.-lxvi. nowhere assert themselves to be by Isaiah; and that there is no other well-grounded claim of Scripture or of doctrine on behalf of his authorship. We have, then, shown that chapters xl.-xlvi. do

not only present the exile as if nearly finished, and Cyrus as if already come, while the fall of Babylon is still future; but that it is essential to one of their main arguments that Cyrus should be standing before Israel and the world, as a successful warrior, on his way to attack Babylon. That led us to date these chapters between 555 and 538. Turning, then, to other evidence—the local colour they show, their language and style, and their theology—we have found nothing that conflicts with that date, but, on the contrary, a very great deal which much more agrees with it than with the date, or with the authorship, of Isaiah" (p. 16).

This extract simply means that the prophecies regarding Cyrus are prophecies after the event, and, in fact, that the chapters referred to were written, not at a date anterior to the year 700, but at some period within the years 555 and 538. We are asked to believe that there existed during the years of the captivity a man of great genius and eloquence, whose name has completely disappeared, not merely from the head of this prophecy, but from the pages of history. We are to suppose that when the Jewish canon was closed, some few years later, even then the writer of these splendid and inspiring passages had already been lost to memory, and his writings confounded with those of a writer who lived nearly two centuries before, and whose words were branded upon the heart of every Israelite. And this, too, though the very force of prophecy required that the prophet's name should be preserved; for upon the reputation for sanctity he had acquired, and the confidence he inspired, depended the impression his words would make upon the minds of his hearers and readers.

But then what are we to say in regard to the way in which Cyrus is spoken of in our prophecy? Is it inconsistent with the traditional view as to date and authorship?

Cyrus [says Mr. Adam Smith (p. 9)] is not presented as a prediction, but as the proof that a prediction is being fulfilled. Unless he had already appeared in flesh and blood, and was on the point of striking at Babylon, with all the prestige of unbroken victory, a great part of Isa. xli.-xlviii. would be utterly unintelligible.

Are we to consider that this argument, set forth with such confidence, practically decides the question in favour of the second Isaiah? Not at all. The chapters referred to by Mr. Smith were written by the prophet Isaiah, not for his own day, but for the gloomy period of the Exile. Enlightened by the inspiration of God, and living in spirit amongst the captives in Babylonia, the prophet tells of Cyrus advancing upon Babylon. He reminds his readers of the promises of God to them, and, as a pledge of final victory, he points to Cyrus the avenger, already begun his career. Why, if we so interpret them, are these chapters unintelligible? Are they not more forcible than if merely spoken by an expounder of former prophecies? And if we believe in prophecy at all, why may we not expound the words of Isaiah so?

As for the remaining arguments of Mr. Smith, they need no comment. The apologetic tone in which they are brought forward shows that the author does not place much reliance on them. Indeed, the language and general tone of the chapters in question really tell in favour of

unity of authorship. Some peculiarities of style are no doubt to be found in the last twenty-six chapters, but who could expect to find the style of any writer, treating of various subjects, and at different periods of his life, always the same? Such a supposition is most unlikely. This much we can say, that no argument of weight has yet been brought forward against the unity of the authorship of the prophecy of Isaiah which cannot with equal force be urged against the genuineness of any other prophecy properly so called.

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*A Nun, her Friends and her Order, being a Sketch of the Life of Mother MARY XAVERIA FALLON, sometime Superior General of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin in Ireland and its Dependencies.*  
By KATHERINE TYNAN. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. 1891.

THERE is much in this sketch that is interesting, much too that is most edifying. To those who are brought into personal relations with the religious congregation to which it refers, and still more to all who knew the holy nun whose career it describes the book will be a very welcome one, and with good reason. At the same time we cannot help wishing that, good as it is, the work had been better done. Miss Tynan's poetry is much more perfect than her prose. A simpler style would have been more fitting to the subject, as well as more effective from the purely literary point of view. And we must add that any style would be better for the pruning of the superabundant wealth of adjectives to be found in some of the chapters of this record of convent life.

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*Amwās, das Emmaus des hl. Lucas, 160 Stadien von Jerusalem.* Von Dr. M. J. SCHIFFERS. Freiburg: Herder. 1890.

DR. SCHIFFERS, who has a familiar acquaintance with most of the holy places connected with the facts of our Lord's life, here endeavours to show that Amwās, in the western district of Judæa, at a distance from Jerusalem of about 176 Stadia, is the Emmaus of the first book of Machabees (iii. 40), and it may be conceded to the author's great learning and critical ability that he has established this identity beyond doubt. He takes a different step, however, when he tries to prove the identity of this Amwās with the Emmaus of St. Luke (xxiv. 13); according to which theory Emmaus was situated not sixty, but a hundred and sixty stadia from Jerusalem. It should be borne in mind that the Franciscans have, from time immemorial, had a convent at Kubeibe, a distance of about sixty stadia, or about three hours' journey, from Jerusalem; and according to tradition, it is the very village where our Lord made his appearance to two disciples on the day of his resurrection, whilst, since the middle of the sixteenth century, a procession has proceeded from Jerusalem on Easter Monday

to this time-honoured spot. It is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile Dr. Schiffrers' opinion with most of the Biblical manuscripts which place Emmaus at a distance of sixty stadia from Jerusalem. But even were we to assume a distance of 160 stadia, how then could possibly the disciples have returned the very same evening from Emmaus to Jerusalem? (Luke xxiv. 33). Nevertheless we cannot refrain from strongly recommending this pamphlet, full as it is of learning, based on very wide reading, and remarkable for a rare critical ability. Three maps enhance its value.

BELLESHEIM.

*Lettere di S. Alfonso Maria de' Liguori.* Pubblicate per un Padre della Congr. del SS. Redentore. Vols. II. and III. Roma : Società S. Giovanni.—Desclée, Lefebvre e Cia. 1889-90.

THE first volume of this important and interesting collection has been already brought before the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW.\* The learned editor has now fortunately concluded his valuable work. Except a few letters which the editor could gather from printed works, the materials are now first published, and are of great interest and importance, and the collection is as complete as it could be made. It is a work of permanent value in the important departments of Canon Law, ecclesiastical history, and moral theology. Besides the *archivio generalizio* in Rome and other Redemptorist houses in various countries, the editor has carefully investigated the official archives of the Holy See, especially those of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars. Praise is due to the editor for the excellent manner in which his critical work has been done. A full and careful index is a valuable help to the readier use of the enormous mass of varied material in the volumes. The second of these volumes is chiefly occupied with the concluding part of the general correspondence, and contains not a few valuable letters from the Saint, as, *e.g.*, some to members of religious Orders on the subject of perfection or office of superiors, &c.—others, and these numerous and important, to the sons of his own Congregation, which, as Rettore Maggiore, he continued to conduct even after having retired from his bishopric. They are a signal proof of the care he bestowed on his brethren and his efforts to avert the dangers which threatened the Institute. It is interesting, but certainly sad to meet many of the individual acts of Spanish and Italian State-Canon Law (as we may call it) as presented in these volumes. Our Saint had literally to fight for the liberty of the Church. For not less than four years had his successor in the bishopric to wait for the Government Exequatur, whilst St. Alphonsus was himself obliged to lay his petition for obtaining the awarded pension before the King. The enraged Regalists of Naples attacked the Congregation of the Redemptorists on the ground of its alleged identity with the Society of Jesus, which just at that time was the object of fierce persecution both

\* January 1887, p. 231.



in Spain and Naples. Specially interesting also is a Memoir written by our Saint in 1774 for the Cardinals entering the Conclave: it treats of some abuses, and suggests suitable means for their correction by the next Pontiff.

Perhaps the chief importance of this work centres in the third volume. Here we find first of all the development of the Saint's Moral System. The letters to be found on pages 168, 303, 333, 343, 422, 457, do not leave any doubt but that the Saint was professing the system of æquiprobabilism. Then we have an ardent defence of the Pope's infallibility, which will rejoice dogmatic theologians. Finally the editor has fortunately secured from the Archives of the "Congregatio Concilii" the three "Relationes" or statements of the condition, &c., of his diocese sent to it by the Holy Bishop. Two incidents may hence be gathered to illustrate the spirit of his episcopal rule:—Every Saturday he preached in honour of our Lady, and every day he offered Mass for his diocese. Lastly, it may be mentioned that the second and third volumes also contain an extensive correspondence between St. Alphonsus and Signor Giambattista Remondini, the principal publisher of Venice, who regularly brought out second editions of the Saint's works; the first editions in a limited number of copies and under the immediate superintendence of the Bishop himself having appeared in Naples. The sons of St. Alphonsus could not have devised a fitter memorial for the first centenary of the death of their holy Founder and Doctor Ecclesiæ.

BELLESHEIM.

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*Le Cardinal de Franckenberg, archevêque de Malines (1726–1804).*  
Par ARTHUR VERHAEGEN, D.Ph. &c. Bruges and Lille: Desclée,  
de Brouwer & Cie. 1890.

**A**MONGST the numerous great bishops in Belgium during the eighteenth century, Cardinal de Franckenberg deserves special mention as a champion of ecclesiastical liberty, at a very critical period. There is a biography of him by Father Theiner, which, though yet valuable, deals with only the Cardinal's resistance to the encroachments of the Emperor Joseph II. on the Church; and later Father de Buck, the well-known Bollandist, wrote on the same topic in the "Précis Historiques" (1873). Now, however, Dr. Verhaegen gives us a complete biography based on unpublished manuscripts. He has drawn from the Belgium State Archives, and, what is noteworthy, from the great treasures of the Belgian diocesan archives. And the mass of materials thus brought together has been worked into a learned and reliable biography. John Henry de Franckenberg was a native of Silesia, and was born in 1726. He was educated in the German College, Rome, where he so far distinguished himself that Benedict XIV. accepted the dedication of the theses which this promising student undertook to defend—one of which, by the way, derived episcopal jurisdiction immediately from the Pope.

In 1750 de Franckenberg returned to Austria, became dean of the Chapter of All Saints, Prague, and in 1759 was consecrated Archbishop

of Malines. His lot was cast in evil times: for we find him engaged through a long period in defending the Church against "Josephinism." And not only had he to defend the government of the church, but in some cases, as in the contest about the education of the clergy, he had to exert himself for the protection of the sanctuary itself. Driven from his See by the French, the Cardinal took refuge in Emmerich (Prussia), and afterwards in Preda (Holland). When Pius VII. asked the Cardinal for his resignation, the latter in due submission to the Holy Father sent it to Rome unhesitatingly, "*Hoc ipsum juxta ejusdem. Sanctatis suæ sapientissimum indicium pro bono religionis et ecclesiæ necessarium judicans.*" The Cardinal died June 11, 1804. This highly interesting volume deserves unqualified praise.

BELLESHEIM.

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*The Co-operative Movement of To-day.* By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. ("Social Questions of To-day" Series.) London: Methuen & Co. 1891.

MR. HOLYOAKE, in this volume, undertakes to explain "Co-operation" to outsiders. He is known as a writer and lecturer of many years standing on all questions connected with the Co-operative movement. "I stood by the cradle of Co-operation," he tells us; "I have seen it grow to manhood, and I trust to see its nobler maturity yet to come" (p. 107). There are twenty-four chapters. The first five are to a great extent historical, then we have a description of "the Store," its economy, its honesty, and its common sense. Several chapters follow on the ethics of profit-sharing and its methods. The writer then passes on to the Co-operative workshop, in describing which he discusses the iniquities of capital, and of the middleman, condemns State help, and does not think much of trade unionism, or of emigration, as a resource against low wages. The volume finishes with exhortations and sayings of a general character, tending to encourage co-operation. Mr. Holyoake's style is passable, though the literary form of the book is poor, and there is far too much of the smartness of the lecturer, and too many of the familiar tags and stories which are found effective in Social Science halls and Mechanics' Institutes. A more objectionable feature is the writer's tone on matters connected with religion. In his introductory historical sketch he impudently speaks of our Lord as one of a series of famous "world-improvers," the first being Plato, and the sixth—James Harrington! "It does not appear," he says, "that Christ foresaw the discovery of political economy, and the rise of the manufacturing system, since this plan of selling all you have, and giving it to the poor would soon bring society to a precarious level" (p. 3). The fatuous ignorance of the self-educated lecturer is shown in such utterances as this, and in his calm assumption of what he calls the "causation of the will"—that is, the absolute dependence of man's moral actions on surrounding circumstances. Formerly, he

gives us to understand, all scientific progress was rendered impossible by the "theologists" (p. 9), who regarded all error and evil as having but one cause—the "Satanic." The result of this complacent and foolish dogmatising is that a manual which is otherwise useful has that disagreeable air of earthy heathenism which characterises so many treatises on economic and social science. Some of Mr. Holyoake's literary references want revising. He alters and adapts Gray's

Ample room and verge enough,  
The characters of hell to trace,

into

Ample verge and room enough,  
The characters of—Competition to trace,

and having then misquoted the first line, he attributes the passage to Collins! (p. 41).

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*Die Katakombengemälde und ihre alten Copien, Eine ikonographische Studie von JOSEPH WILPERT. Freiburg: Herder. 1891. [The Catacomb Paintings, and old copies of them.]*

MR. WILPERT, whose work on Christian Archæology ("Prinzipienfragen der christlichen Archæologie") was noticed in the DUBLIN REVIEW, for July 1889, here presents us with another equally clever work on a branch of the same subject. His researches have been into the fidelity of the copies of the Catacomb paintings which are contained in the famous collections of Ciacconio and Bosio. These have hitherto enjoyed great authority; and naturally, as one would suppose that artists would aim at a faithful reproduction. Mgr. Wilpert has, for the first time apparently, subjected them to a sufficient critical examination, and the result is startling. His learned dissertation, in the work before us, adorned by twenty-eight photographs of the paintings, leaves no doubt but that the said copies are for the most part inaccurate, often quite misleading. Ciacconio's copies, it is now clear, were made by artists who instead of faithfully copying what they were employed to copy, contented themselves with a pencil sketch on the spot (often the merest sketch, apparently, and scarcely a finished outline) in reproducing which afterwards with pencil and colour, they gave free, and sometimes fanciful play to their own renaissance tastes and ideas. This mannerism, if it were not rather something deserving a much worse name, went to the extent, we are told, of their "copies" giving us in some instances, for example, a man for a woman, naked for clothed figures, and *vice versa*; inverting the order of the figures, &c. The adoration of the Magi in one example, took shape as a martyrdom! a Madonna seated on a throne, became a nude virgin kneeling in the midst of flames, and, even more ludicrously, a Noe in the Ark with the Dove, actually resolved itself into a preacher, visited by an angel who inspires his words!

In the second part of his work, our author examines the copies done

by the artist employed by Bosio, and it is somewhat of a relief to learn that they do not sin in this grave way on the score of infidelity, though they "leave much to be desired" in point of execution. Mgr. Wilpert gives a full index of corrections; for which scholars who henceforward may use Bosio's "Roma Sotteranea" will be grateful. The learned author has also succeeded in explaining some pictures which hitherto had puzzled archaeologists; among which may be mentioned the inscription: "Paulus Pastor Apostolus" (table I. 4.) which has no connection with St. Paul, the apostle, but relates to a deceased christian, represented as an "orans."

The Commendatore de Rossi, to whom the volume is dedicated, in a letter which the author inserts in his preface speaks of the great value of these iconographical labours of Mgr. Wilpert, he also pronounced an eulogium on them at a *séance* of the Academy of Christian Archaeology in December last, when he likewise expressed the hope that Mgr. Wilpert would before long give the public such a reliable treatise on ancient Christian Iconography as his labours thus far had so forcibly shown the need of. We join in cordial agreement with the hope expressed by the learned Commendatore, and meanwhile recommend the very able and important volume which we have briefly noticed, to the attention of scholars.

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*Harmony between Science and Revelation.* By the Right Rev. J. de CONCILIO, D.D. New York: Pustet & Co.

WE are glad to have any solid and interesting work on the above subject. The book before us has these qualities, and is a very useful addition to our Catholic literature. Books on Science, and especially those which are directed against religion, are much read; yet many of these books are exceedingly shallow, and represent religion as irreconcilable with the discoveries of science. Professor Draper's "History of the Conflict between Science and Religion," for instance, has been much lauded, and has passed through many editions. Yet the misconception of Catholic dogmas shown in it is pitiable in the extreme. The Professor talks of "Infallibility" without understanding what we mean by it. He informs his readers that Catholics, by this dogma, attribute to the Pope the gift of "omniscience," and then he jeers at us accordingly. It is very useful, then, to have books which undertake to defend religion in relation to science.

The book before us is written by a man who is well acquainted with the teaching of the Catholic Church, and has evidently made a considerable study also of modern scientific theories. His great contention all through his work is against evolution as maintained by modern unbelieving scientists. He maintains that their theory on this point is opposed to history, paleontology, and embryology. He makes out a good case in favour of his position. The work comprises thirty-eight chapters, or articles as the author calls them, and the matter is treated in the form of dialogue, a method which has the advantage of giving

interest and clearness to the author's views. We find three "articles"—the 24th, 25th, and 26th—directed against Dr. Mivart, in which Dr. de Concilio maintains that the learned Professor's opinion, in which he contends that any Catholic may hold, without any trouble of conscience, that man's body was developed from lower forms, is not tenable, either philosophically, theologically, or scientifically. We strongly recommend Dr. de Concilio's book, and should be glad to see it read by Catholics. It would furnish many sound arguments on a much discussed subject.

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*Die Christlichen Inschriften der Rheinlande. Erster Theil. Die altchristlichen Inschriften von den Anfängen des Christenthums am Rhein bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts. Herausgegeben von FRANZ XAVIER KRAUS. Freiburg: J. T. B. Mohr. 1890. (30 marks.)*

THIS is one of the most remarkable and important works which has made its appearance in Germany of late. What Commendatore Giovanni de Rossi is doing for the capital of Christendom by his far-famed "Inscriptiones Urbis Romæ," and Le Blant has performed by his "Inscriptiones de la Gaule," the same service is rendered to Germany by the above work. Dr. Kraus, Professor of Theology in the University of Freiburg (Baden), well known as the author of the German "Roma sotterranea," and the "Real encyclopädie der christlichen Alterthümer," will give the public, in the above work, the results of study devoted for more than twenty years to the Christian inscriptions of the Rhine countries. The first part, as its title indicates, carries the study of the inscriptions from the beginning of Christianity to the middle of the eighth century. They belong, therefore, to a period which early felt the influence of Roman culture. The second part will contain inscriptions of the succeeding period, down to 1250—a term well chosen, as we think, since the thirteenth century witnessed a deep change, not only in the development of art generally, but especially in palæography; while, as is deserving of attention, the great increase of manuscripts and documents after 1250 apparently robs monuments to a large extent of their value.

Professor Kraus has discharged his duty as might be expected from a German scholar. First he gives the text of each inscription—in large capitals if it is still in existence, in smaller capitals if it is lost, and in italics if it be spurious. Next come ample literary indications, and, lastly, a commentary. In adopting this admirable method he has followed the example of the "Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum" of the Berlin University. The ground covered by the work ranges from the ancient Bishopric of Basel to the Diocese of Cologne, and the inscriptions number as many as 302; one number sometimes including under it several subdivisions. The ancient town of Trier, formerly the residence of Roman emperors, which sheltered St. Athanasius and St. Jerome, has afforded not less than 220 inscriptions. For the most part they are written in Latin; only a few of them in Greek. It may in-

terest English and Irish readers that in Treves was buried a "Scottus": "Hic bene pausat Scotto" (for Scottus). One of the most remarkable monuments of all western Europe is the grave of Bishop St. Paulinus, who in 358 expired in Phrygia in exile, and whose body was afterwards translated to Treves. The tomb, with its two coffins of stone and wood (cedar of Lebanon) was subjected in 1883 to a scientific examination, and the inscriptions discovered on that occasion have been fully treated by Commendatore de Rossi. We would call the attention of English scholars to Professor Kraus's commentaries on the Christian inscriptions of Cologne, and especially on the stone preserved in St. Ursula (p. 143). Two appendices contain inscriptions brought from abroad, and the evidently spurious ones. The part concludes with no less than twenty-two photographs of monuments and inscriptions. The value of such a work as Dr. Kraus's in the study of church history, and even also of dogmatic theology, will not be questioned. The inscriptions lend strong support to Catholic dogma, bringing out in strong relief the identity of our creed of to-day with the faith of the Christians in those early centuries.

BELLESHEIM.

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*Juris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide pars prima* complectens Bullas, Brevia, Acta Sanctæ Sedis, a Congregationis institutione ad præsens tempus. Cura et studio, RAPH. DE MARTINIS. Vol. III. Romæ. 1890.

THE first two volumes of this great work were duly noticed by me in the DUBLIN REVIEW (October 1889). Since then the third volume has appeared. It is occupied only with such documents as were issued by the great canonist Benedict XIV. Thus we have those famous constitutions of this Pope as to the processes about the validity of matrimony, holy orders and solemn vows. Numerous decrees are also included, treating questions connected with the oriental missions. Even a superficial inspection of the volume shows that Germany and the British Isles were an object of earnest solicitude to the learned Pontiff. English missions, the British colleges abroad, and the missions in Northern Germany are constant topics. The editor has searched not only the Propaganda Archives, but he gives us many precious documents gathered from the secret archives of the Vatican. Benedict XIV. as is known, sometimes wrote letters to the officials of the Roman Congregations, pointing out the principles which should guide the Cardinals in giving their decisions; Father de Martinis presents us with some weighty letters to Monsignor Lercari, secretary to the Propaganda, who in 1736, was Internuncio at Paris, and from the French capital furnished the Holy See with valuable information about the Irish College in Paris, and the reception of the Bull *Unigenitus* by the French clergy. Both of these latter documents have been printed in the third volume of my "History of the Catholic Church in Ireland."

BELLESHEIM.



*Doctoris Seraphici S. BONAVENTURÆ Opera Omnia.* Jussu et auctoritate Rmi. P. BERNARDINI a Portu Romatino totius Ordinis Minorum S. P. Francisci, Ministri Generalis edita, Studio et cura PP. Collegii a S. Bonaventura. Vol. I.—IV. *Commentaria S. BONAVENTURÆ in quatuor Libros Sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi* (1882–1889). Vol. V., *Opuscula varia Theologica.* 1891. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchii): Ex. Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventuræ.

THE new edition of St. Bonaventure's works, which was decided on soon after the Vatican Council, has now reached its fifth volume. Of the critical value of the edition little need be said. As soon as the edition was determined on, the General of the Franciscans commissioned Father Fidelis a Fanna to search the principal libraries of Europe for MSS. containing any works of St. Bonaventure. The celebrated book, "*Ratio novæ collectionis Operum Omnium S. Bonaventuræ*," &c., published at Turin in 1874, embodied the results of Father Fidelis's labours, and earned for him the high encomiums of scholars. Unfortunately he died soon after, and his place was taken by Father Ignatius Jeiler, the best scholar of the German Province of his Order, who was also appointed rector of the newly erected college of Quaracchi, near Florence. A splendid printing house, furnished with the newest appliances, was placed at his disposal, and a devoted band of laborious young German Franciscans gathered round him for this enormous undertaking. After seven years of hard work the first volume made its appearance in 1882. It is a *chef-d'œuvre*, both for its historical and critical method, and for the immense learning displayed in the wide field of mediæval theology and philosophy, and is, naturally, vastly superior to preceding editions, not excepting the Vatican and the Vives (Paris) editions. The grave questions as to genuine and spurious works of the Saint in the new edition are discussed, and perhaps finally settled, or nearly so. Tables attached to the preface show the conflict of opinion among the editors of the Vatican edition of 1588–1599, and later editors. Some reputed works of the saint are now rejected, and, on the other hand, others hitherto overlooked are now located among the acknowledged genuine writings. Thus, *ex. gr.*, in the fifth volume of this Quaracchi edition are to be found the treatises, "*Questiones disputatæ de Scientiâ Christi, de Mysterio SS. Trinitatis, et de Perfectione Evangelicâ*," which were discovered by Father Fidelis, and are now first published. Next, it may be mentioned that St. Bonaventure, in quoting the ancient philosophers and the Fathers of the Church, usually gives only in general the name of the book he refers to, and former editors have been content to leave references in this obscurity. The present learned editors, however, at cost of enormous labour, have verified every quotation, and given exact references. This undertaking, too, postulated a familiar acquaintance with the MSS., and the reader will no doubt marvel at the immense amount of them which have been utilised. In correcting the text of the Saints' Commentaries on Peter

Lombard, in the first volume, for example, thirty-four codices have been carefully examined, collated, and are at some length described, for the benefit of the scholar, after which come twenty-two "codices a nobis non collati:" and footnotes give the chief variant readings. The "Scholia" of the editors of this new edition also call for special mention. After each commentary of the saint the editors give a "scholion"—a brief but learned and clever exposition of the saints' teaching, its relation to that of the scholastics generally, and to St. Thomas in particular, and tracing the influence of St. Bonaventure on the development of theology. I would more especially direct attention (in the first volume) to the scholion to Dist. III. (art. unit. qu. 1, page 70) as laying down the saint's opinion on Ontologism; and in the second volume to the scholion to Dists. III. and XII. (pages 92, 301) as a masterly survey of the scholastic doctrine on "matter and form," or, again, to that (p. 733) which gives a view of the schoolmen's system of Nature. Indeed, to be brief, these scholia are storehouses of learning, and a key opening the sanctuary of thought and principles, and bringing within appreciative nearness to us one of the most gifted scholars of the Middle Ages.

The first four volumes contain the saint's commentaries on the Master of the Sentences, and we have his views on Creation, the Fall of Man, the Incarnation, the Sacraments, &c.; and the fifth volume gives us seven "opuscula," viz., 1. *Questiones disputatæ de scientia Christi*. 2. *Breviloquium*. 3. *Itinerarium mentis ad Deum*. 4. *De reductione artis ad theologiam*. 5. *Collationes in Hexæmeron*. 6. *Collationes de septem donis Spiritus Sancti*. 7. *De decem præceptis*. 8. *Sermones selecti de rebus theologicis*. Not the scholar only, but the preacher, may gather profitably from these writings of the "Doctor Seraphicus." Prolegomena and indices make reference easy, whilst the type, printed on the famous Carta Fabriana, is exceptionally beautiful. To the first four volumes (on Peter Lombard's Sentences) a Special General Index will be shortly issued.

A. BELLESHEIM.

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*Victorian Poets.* By AMY SHARP. (University Extension Series.) Methuen & Co. 1891.

THIS is a sketchy, scrappy book of the kind that furnishes the reader with ready-made opinions on a score of poets, justified by a few short quotations from their works. Some of these quotations might well have been spared. One of them is perhaps the most utterly blasphemous passage that Swinburne ever wrote, and Miss (or is it Mrs.) Sharp makes matters worse by apologising for the poet's "attitude of scornful derision" as something that "closely resembles that which is commonly tolerated in Elijah when he mocked the priests and worshippers of Baal."

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1. *Cardinal Newman: Reminiscences of Fifty Years since.* By one of his oldest living disciples, WILLIAM LOCKHART, B.A. Oxon. To which is added an Essay on the more recent phases of the Oxford Movement. London: Burns & Oates. 1891.
2. *St. Etheldreda's and Old London.* By Father LOCKHART. London: Burns & Oates.
3. *Non Possumus; or, the Temporal Sovereignty of the Pope, and "the Roman Question."* By WILLIAM LOCKHART, Priest of the Order of Charity. London: Burns & Oates. 1890.
4. *The Communion of Saints; or, the Catholic Doctrine concerning our relation to the Blessed Virgin, the Angels, and the Saints.* 3rd Edition. Same Author and Publishers.
5. *Rosmini's Sketch of Modern Philosophies, and of his own System.* With a few words of Introduction, a Dialogue on the Light of Natural Reason, and Appendix. 2nd Edition. Same Author and Publishers.
6. *Who is the Antichrist of Prophecy?* Four Lectures. Same Author and Publishers.

1. **S**INCE the death of Cardinal Newman, much has been written of him by many pens, but a singularly striking interest necessarily attaches to Father Lockhart's recollections, because of his early associations with the then Dr. Newman at Littlemore. Those who have read the three articles here reproduced, which were severally contributed to the *Paternoster Review*, the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, and the *DUBLIN REVIEW*, must have felt their charm, and will be glad of this reprint. To them is added "A Review of Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon*," reprinted from the second edition of 1866.

2. Is a valuable historical record of the restoration and reconciliation to Catholic worship of St. Etheldreda's, Ely Place. The Blessed Sacrament was replaced in the tabernacle and High Mass sung after an interval of 300 years, on June 23, 1879. In the account of this important event is happily included the sermon preached at vespers on that day by the Rev. Father Grant, S.J., an eloquent discourse, both historically and doctrinally instructive. Father Lockhart tells an amusing story of the removal of the Royal Arms from the church, "which had probably been placed there in the time of Archbishop Laud, taken down and perhaps partly broken in the days of Cromwell, and re-erected on the restoration of Charles II." "Burke," said I, "go into the church and remove the Royal Arms." "Indeed, it's myself is the proud man to-day," he said, as he came out, bearing the heavy oak carved lion and unicorn, relics of the royal supremacy, festooned with the dust and cobwebs of nearly two centuries. "There," as he set it down, "that's the finest job of work I ever did, and I won't forget it to my dying day, glory be to God." The Royal Arms hang now in the porch outside the south door of the church, and underneath is the inscription: "This emblem of the royal supremacy was removed from

the Church of St. Etheldreda when it was restored to the Roman obedience."

3 to 6 are new editions of some portions of Father Lockhart's well-known excellent writings. Of "Non Possumus," the late Bishop Brown, of Newport and Menevia, wrote, so far back as 1868, "Methodical, well-reasoned, moderate, and conclusive." And of the rest, we may say that the need of new editions is proof of the continued recognition of their merit. Their present welcome reappearance, in uniform size and tasteful cloth binding, makes them more easy of reference.

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*Novum Testamentum D. N. Jesu Christi Latine secundum Editionem S. Hieronymi, ad codicum manuscriptorum fidem recensuit J. WORDSWORTH, S.T.P., Episcopus Sarisburiensis. Evangelium Secundum Marcum. Oxonii: E Typographeo Clarendoniano. MDCCCXCI. (7s. 6d.)*

THE Council of Trent orders the reception as sacred and canonical of the books named in the list of the Council . . . "prout in vetere vulgata editione habentur," "entirely with all their parts, as they are contained in the old Vulgate edition," it is therefore a matter of the utmost importance to ascertain clearly what the old Vulgate edition contained, when it emanated from the pen of the great doctor, St. Jerome. It is true that in the edition of Clement VIII. we possess a work which, as Vercellone remarks, "displays an exquisite and most admirable wisdom," and which certainly may be relied on as far as regards the integrity of the translations, and all matters of faith and morals; still, it is admitted by grave theologians, that the authorised edition of the Vulgate, perfect though it be, is susceptible of improvement, with the aid of greater labour and research. It is not, therefore, in any way at all derogatory to the value of the Clementine edition to say that we regard the work of Dr. Wordsworth as a useful and valuable addition to the many works already available for those anxious to devote themselves to the textual criticism of the four Gospels. The author has collated for the purposes of his revision the most celebrated codices, he has made use of the many editions that have preceded his own, and, besides the reading finally adopted, he has given in foot-notes the readings of other authorities. As a further assistance to the student, the old version from the Brixian codex—because, it is most probably, very like the edition which St. Jerome had by him, in making his recension—is printed in full below the new revision of the text. In regard to his use of authorities, Dr. Wordsworth tells us that, in deciding differences of reading, he devoted his attention rather to a few well-known and, what may be called, representative codices than to a multitude of less important witnesses. Perhaps it is right to add, in conclusion, that H. J. White, Vice-Principal of the Theological College at Salisbury, took part with Dr. Wordsworth in preparing and editing the present edition.

*Order in the Physical World, and its First Cause, according to Modern Science.* From the French. By J. T. SLEVIN. London: John Hodges. 1891.

THIS little volume is a vindication of the argument for the existence of God from final causes. It is difficult to form any idea of the merit of the original, for it has been evidently translated by some one very imperfectly acquainted with English. But if the French is correctly rendered, it must contain many serious inaccuracies, especially in the biological part of the work, which would render it a very unsafe guide in controversy, or in satisfying a candid inquirer. This is unfortunate, as the collected testimonies of men of science to the teleological argument might otherwise have been useful.

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*The Visible and Invisible Worlds.* By Rev. J. W. VAHEY. Milwaukee. 1890.

THE object of this little volume is to show "by philosophical argument the harmony that exists between true science and divine revelation." The author's purpose is praiseworthy, and the greater part of the book states the ordinary arguments used by Christian apologists in plain, straightforward language. It is the more to be regretted that Fr. Vahey should have indulged in speculations—such as those on Hell and Purgatory—which are at least unnecessary, and suggest more questions than they answer. Theological language is also used, which, though in itself correct, is likely to puzzle and mislead the ordinary reader. The paper and type of the volume do great credit to the town where it was published; but the press errors, uncorrected, are unusually numerous.

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*A Short History of Greek Philosophy.* By JOHN MARSHALL, M.A., LL.D., Rector of the Royal High School, Edinburgh. London: Percival & Co. 1891. (6s.)

"THE main purpose" of the author, to use his own words, "has been to present an account of Greek philosophy, which, within strict limits of brevity, shall be at once authentic and interesting." It is no small praise to be able to say without reserve that Dr. Marshall appears to us to have attained his object very satisfactorily. The book is likely to attract many to the study of philosophy who would be repelled by abstractions and formulæ, for it is brightly and gracefully written. There is no attempt to shirk the difficult questions that occur: they are stated very clearly, and the whole is pervaded by a reverent, Christian spirit that contrasts with most works of the kind. Reference is made in the margin throughout to the pages of Ritter and Zeller's *Historia Philosophiæ Græcæ*, so as to facilitate further study. Of course opinions will differ as to the

amount of relative space that should be allotted to the several schools of thought, our belief being that the less important systems might have been described even more briefly, and the space so gained have been devoted to Aristotle and Stoicism. Both of these subjects seem to us to be obscure from compression; and we believe that a beginner would need assistance to grasp the author's full meaning. With such help from a teacher of Catholic philosophy, the book is admirably calculated to give an idea of the source whence St. Thomas's system starts. We would remark particularly on the fundamental unity which is shown to lie under the differences between Aristotle and Plato, as showing how completely the philosophy of the Church has inherited all that is best in pre-Christian thought.

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*Pre-Organic Evolution and the Biblical Idea of God. An Exposition and a Criticism.* By C. CHAPMAN, M.A., LL.D., Principal of Western College, Plymouth. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

THIS is an argument to show that Mr. Herbert Spencer's doctrine of Evolution implies and demands the pre-existence of a Rational Creative Will, and therefore of a personal Creator. The author appears to prove conclusively that, before evolution began at all, and as a condition of its possibility, there were existing adjustments, which can only be accounted for as produced by an Intelligence. The volume follows throughout the Spencerian terminology, and seems well adapted to convince an intelligent Agnostic that his position is not logically tenable.

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*Essays on French Novelists.* By GEORGE SAINTSBURY. London: Percival & Co. 1891. (7s. 6d.)

THIS study of French novelists by a highly qualified English critic is an extremely interesting book, and to the student of literature a most helpful one. In some instances a Catholic critic would take exception to Mr. Saintsbury's view—a purely literary view—and pass a less lenient judgment on works which he hesitates to condemn; but in most cases he shows the instinct of the true critic, and refuses to accept the perverted canons of the modern school that would have the artist choose for his subjects the ugly and the vicious, on the assumption that what is true to life must be unpleasant and repulsive.

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*Percy Wynn; or, Making a Boy of Him.* By FRANCIS J. FINN, S.J. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1891.

A BRIGHT story of boy life in the United States, by a writer who has already produced not a few successful books for Catholic boys and girls.



